

# Proceedings 2011

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edited by Britany Carey & Shoko Sasayama

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## PREFACE

*Britney Carey, MA Student in Linguistics*

*Shoko Sasayama, PhD Student in Second Language Studies*

On Saturday, April 16<sup>th</sup>, the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa held its fifteenth annual graduate student conference. The theme of the conference was *Check Your Vision for the Future* with papers highlighting emerging changes in language use and literature, as well as suggestions for improving language teaching and maintenance in the future. A diverse group of graduate students and faculty were represented from the Departments of East Asian Languages and Literatures, English, Linguistics, and Second Language Studies. The plenary speech was given by Dr. Katie Drager, followed by student presentations. Nine of the presentations are included in the proceedings.

On behalf of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, we would like to thank the faculty and student volunteers who gave their time and energy to make the conference a success. We would especially like to thank the conference co-chairs, Cheryl DiCello, Sena Pierce, and Linlin Shao, without whom the conference would not have been possible. We are also grateful to the abstract readers, publicity and liaison volunteers, food and beverage organizers, audiovisual and technical coordinators, program designers, panel moderators, and on-site volunteers for their assistance.

We would also like to thank Robert Bley-Vroman, Dean of College of Languages, Linguistics and Literature, for his assistance during the preparation of the proceedings. In particular, we would like to express our gratitude to John Davis and Iris Chang and her three assistants, Kenzie Allen Endrina, Shino Igarashi, and Fair Azcueta, for their guidance and support throughout the publication process. Finally, special thanks to the contributors for their quality submissions, patience, and hard work during the editing process. We wish them all well in their future research endeavors.



## PLENARY SPEAKER HIGHLIGHTS

*Britney Carey, MA Student in Linguistics*

Katie Drager completed her PhD in Linguistics at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand. She is now an assistant professor in sociolinguistics at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She is also the director of the Sociolinguistics Lab, co-director of the Charlene Sato Center for Pidgin, Creole, and Dialect Studies, Convener of the In-Group, and coordinator of the Linguistics Department Tuesday Seminar Series.

Dr. Drager presented her talk, "Style, Stereotypes, and Sound Change," at the opening ceremony of this year's Languages, Linguistics, and Literature conference. Dr. Drager began her address by asking, "What is sociolinguistics?," defining it as a combination of various disciplines including the study of perceptual dialectology/ideology and attitudes, variationist sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, conversation analysis, experimental sociophonetics, anthropological linguistics/ethnography, languages in contact, and language policy. Dr. Drager touched on several potential benefits of such study, including the idea that results gained through the use of varying methods can offer differing perspectives through different types of data, that new directions and insights may be reached by utilizing various resources and informants, that the same data may be used to answer multiple questions, and that graduate students are well-situated to conduct research in this area of study. She explained that her talk would focus specifically on the role that social information plays in sound change.

Dr. Drager argued that even though sound change is linked with style and stereotypes, there is little research currently combining these different approaches to investigate and examine questions about sound change. She went on to define *style* with a quote from Cambell-Kibler et al. (2006), as being a "socially meaningful clustering of features, within and across linguistic levels and modalities." Dr. Drager explained that although style is constructed by the individual, linguistic variants are significant because of the meanings that they share.

Drawing from Kanahara (2006), Dr. Drager defined the idea of a *stereotype* as "a belief about a group of individuals," while the application of a stereotype is "when a belief about a group is applied to a particular individual." On a broader scale are *generalizations*, which include stereotypes. These are, as Dr. Drager noted, "composite[s] of many beliefs about a group of individuals, things or events." *Specification*, on the other hand, is a belief "formed based on previous experience."

Dr. Drager went on to discuss the implications of how stereotypes may affect perception. She showed that stereotypes affect how speakers are evaluated using information from Hardeman (2011), which suggests certain ethnic groups are perceived to be better Mandarin speakers over others. Dr. Drager explained that, according to Labov (1972), "listeners have stereotypes about sounds undergoing change" and that these stereotypes "affect how sounds are processed," as shown by Niedzielski (1999), Hay et al. (2006), McGowan (2010), and Drager (2011).

Presenting some findings from her own 2011 study, Dr. Drager showed that when asked to listen to "resynthesized vowel continua between *bed-bad* and *head-had*" and indicate which word was heard, "listeners perceived the vowel as more advanced in the sound change when they believed the speaker was younger." This effect was most pronounced in older listeners—that is, "those who had the most exposure to the [sound] change as it was happening." This, as Dr. Drager pointed out, is "evidence that detailed phonetic information from an utterance and social information of the speaker who produced that utterance are stored (and linked) in the mind." The implications of such findings could suggest that "if social information is linked to phonetic information in the mind," then "linguistic components of a stereotype could be indexed by a speaker in the

construction of their style.” She added that “since social information affects speech perception,” “the sound perceived (and stored) may not actually be the sound produced.”

Dr. Drager stressed the idea that “bridging subfields, methods, and theories is not limited to the research questions posed here,” and suggested that exploring the connections between variationist work and discourse analysis, work on attitude and corpus linguistics, and ethnography and cognitive science could provide interesting insights. In essence, she says, “Think outside the box.”



# I. Languages Learning and Pedagogy



# LET'S TALK EFL AND ESL TEXTBOOK STORY: LOOKING BACK AND MOVING FORWARD

Cheryl DiCello, Department of Second Language Studies

## ABSTRACT

This paper is about the beginning of EFL and ESL textbooks, their past, present, and possible futures. Textbooks began in multiple settings and contexts. Textbooks and methods created power struggles between teachers and creators, causing the classroom to be very different from the methods claimed in some cases, and led to textbooks becoming more powerful than teachers in others. When the textbook is left to teach English, it also teaches false images of English speaking cultures, racism, sexism, and nativism. Localizing teaching and critically using textbooks are possible options for teachers to affirm their professional status.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Have you ever taken a foreign language class that did not have a textbook? Most, if not all, classes teaching a language have a textbook. "The text book shapes much of the activities and content of a class. They are considered second most important for learning in the classroom" (Raseks, Saeedeh, Ghavamnia, & Rajabi, 2010, p. 449). Yet, many textbooks have been created throughout history to replace the teacher or with some sort of political agenda. Textbooks are a political and economic tool, oftentimes created without the best intentions for those who use and teach with them in mind. This paper reviews the beginnings of textbooks, how ESL (English as a second language) and EFL (English as a foreign language) distinctions and language textbooks sprang from them, the role of methods in the deskilling of the teaching profession, what ESL and EFL textbooks teach beyond English, how textbooks and teaching are changing presently, and what we can do for the future.

## 2.0. HISTORY OF TEXTBOOKS

### 2.1. The Purpose of the Textbook

According to Wakefield (1998), "the pedagogical goal or problem for at least a thousand years was memorization of definitions, rules or other facts, and its attainment was facilitated by a text which contained cues for recall such as recited questions and answers or (in the case of Alexander's grammar) rhymes" (p. 7). In this case the purpose of the textbook, or text as it was called, was the storage of facts, rules, and such that needed to be memorized. Yet, the textbook genre has had the great ability of adapting and changing in order to suit the needs of an institution or teaching situation. "As long as that situation remains complex and problematic, teachers will need assistance in developing solutions. Market forces assure that textbooks will represent such assistance" (Wakefield, 1998, p. 23). Keeping this in mind, when class sizes or the motivations of an institution (e.g., teaching religion versus teaching general morality) change, the text's content would also be changed. The creator of the text would then create new up-to-date material that would need to be purchased ideally at the most locations possible. In this way, "by examining textbooks, and the way that teachers have used them, we can make inferences about the education problems which not only gave rise to textbooks, but which have spurred their development" (Wakefield, 1998, p. 5).

### 2.2. The Oldest English Language Textbook

Doing a book search for teaching English materials, I found materials from the 1800s. Specifically for teaching English as a second language, I found a book by Robert Fox from 1900, *Teaching English as a second language & a second dialect*. From 1896 there is *Al-Bakoorat Al-Gharbeyat Fec Talem Al-Lughat Al-Englezyat* [The first occidental fruit for teaching of the English (and Arabic) languages] by A. Arbeely. I found another book, *Language lessons: Designed to introduce young learners, deaf mutes and foreigners to a correct understanding of the English language, on the principle of object teaching*, which was published in 1875 by Isaac Lewis Peet. In 1899 *The Berlitz method for teaching modern languages: English part: Second book, issue 2* by M.D. Berlitz was published. At first, I thought, "Oh, these must be the oldest teaching materials!" I was off by about 400 years.

According to Howatt (1983), the oldest textbook for learning English—but not necessarily for teaching it—was printed in 1483. The book—which did not have a title—is often referred to as *Caxton's Dialogues* (Howatt, 1983). It was a collection of bilingual dialogues in English and French (Howatt, 1983). The audience it was geared towards was made up of merchants and traders between France and the United Kingdom who wanted to learn either English or French (Howatt, 1983 p. 262). This approach of teaching languages via dialogues then continued for about 200 years (Howatt, 1983, p. 264). According to Howatt, another need for English textbooks occurred in 16th century France. Teachers were needed in France to teach English for the courtiers, merchants, travelers, and soldiers (Howatt, 1983, p. 264). Native English teachers were sent to France and native French teachers were sent to the United Kingdom to fulfill this purpose (Pennycook, 1983, p. 599). This may or may not have begun the native-speaker-as-ideal-teacher paradigm. According to Pennycook (1989), English instruction “issues debated today were also hotly argued in the late 16th and early 17th centuries: rule-based learning as opposed to learning through practice, formal study as opposed to informal use” (p. 599). These arguments look very similar to grammar-translation versus the communicative approach. Yet, I believe these arguments coincided with the current need of the language, whether the person wanted to sound intellectual, or just be able to tell the buyer how much the product was.

According to Canisius College (2001), many textbooks were the work of the Jesuits. The Jesuits were founded in 1540 and created textbooks through the 16th to 18th centuries in Europe until Pope Clement the XIV feared that the Jesuits would have too much power (Canisius College, 2001). In 1773, almost everything they made, including the thousands of textbooks, were destroyed as over 20,000 of them fled for their lives to many places around the world (Canisius College, 2001). Many fled to the United States and initiated many educational institutions starting in 1789 with Georgetown University (Canisius College, 2001). This shows how religion influenced education during the 16th to 18th centuries. Also, since English was used when Christian leaders met, no matter the country, the need for English was established with the religion (Pennycook, 2007, p. 19). One example of this occurred when public schools were being founded all across the United States (Everett, 1984, p. 115). According to Everett (1984), in New Mexico, there was a power struggle between the Spanish speakers and English speakers of the land. The Jesuits had created textbooks with Spanish translations; with the increased need for textbooks, they tried to keep the federal funding for teaching children in the Catholic Church (Everett, 1984). Of course, this meant that taxpayers' money was going to a church (Everett, 1984). Those who were of a different religious denomination became increasingly upset about this (Everett, 1984). They were paying for their children to be raised in a faith different from the one they believed in (Everett, 1984).

Yet, countries such as Spain—possibly fearing the Church taking their power—began producing books on their language and grammar. In the 15th century, Antonia de Nebrija wrote the first Castilian grammar which was presented to Queen Isabella (Pennycook, 1989, p. 592). Standardizing the language, “Nebrija argued, would limit the current diversified reading and allow for much stronger centralized control over books. This and other European grammars were to play a crucial role in the formation of the modern state and its citizens as they were weaned away from the Church” (Pennycook, 1989, p. 592). In this way, the first people to learn English, Spanish, and other European languages were the speakers themselves. The United Kingdom had a slightly different perspective of this in regards to India (Pennycook, 2007, p. 14).

### 3.0. THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN INDIA

If India had a single language to unite them, the United Kingdom feared that they would be upset with the colonial rule, and therefore, did not want to teach them English:

Vernacular education was seen as the best means of educating a compliant workforce and of inculcating moral and political values that would make the colonial governance of large populations more possible. English was seen as a dangerous weapon, an unsafe thing, too much of which would lead to a discontented class of people who were not prepared to abide by the colonial system. (Pennycook, 2007, p. 14)

This idea of a tool may have come about since India itself has hundreds of languages spoken (Pennycook, 2007, p. 15). According to Pennycook (2007), even before the United Kingdom's colonial rule, India did not have power over people with a single language. The English did not want the Indians to speak the same language. This did not stop the Indians. English began to be seen as the language that could improve your status whether

economically or socially since the English were keeping it from them (Pennycook, 2007, p. 15). Not only did English get taught in India, but the Indians then developed the underpinnings of English literature as a subject. As Pennycook (2007) implied, "the development of ELT [English Language Teaching] and, the development of English literature could not have happened without the colonial encounter" (p. 17). From here, the teaching of English with a division between ESL and EFL began to be made in the 1960s (Shrestha, 1983, p. 46). Yet, according to Howatt (as cited in Pennycook, 2007), this had actually happened much earlier with the teaching of English in the Empire versus teaching in continental Europe at the end of the 18th century. Either way, this distinction gave the opportunity for considering which English would be the model or standard taught. The EFL countries learned English following an external model, such as American or British English, whereas ESL countries studied from a local variety of English (Shrestha, 1983, p. 47). This would have a great effect on textbooks. One such development was *The new method readers* (1927 onwards) developed by Michael West as an experiment in Bengal (Pennycook, 2007). Teaching English has had many beginnings in different countries (e.g., France, India). Next I will focus on the United States.

#### 4.0. TEXTBOOKS IN THE UNITED STATES

According to Wakefield (1998), during the late 18th century, "textbooks developed out of the need to teach reading and writing to children who had learned to read and write the alphabet, syllables, and even words, but who were not yet ready to read extended passages" (p. 5). He posited that the textbooks were mixtures of grammatical rules and hints to gaining literacy, and that the purpose of the texts before 1840 was to help people understand the Bible. Noah Webster wrote one of these textbooks, a speller in 1783, eventually selling over 100 million copies (Wakefield, 1998, p. 5). To really appreciate this, one might want to keep in mind that the United States was not officially independent from Britain until 1776, with the first population census in 1790 counting only 3,929,214 people (Online Highways, n.d.); it is safe to assume that this book was very popular. It was in the 1840s that textbooks started to become commercialized in the United States. According to Joel Spring (as cited in Zinn, 1995, p. 257), in 1859 the goal of creating public schools was to make a docile work-force. Factory owners wanted to make sure that the laborers would not strike and "the development of a factory-like system in the nineteenth-century schoolroom was not accidental" (Zinn, 1995, p. 257). By 1870, a textbook publisher called the American Book Company was the world's largest (Wakefield, 1998). This can be attributed to the common school movement, where schools were provided for free textbook throughout the nation and in need of textbooks (Wakefield, 1998, p. 10).

It was not until the late 1800s that English as a second language teaching began in the United States (Dixon, 1999). This was much later than in other places: According to Kelly, the "total corpus of ideas accessible to language teachers has not changed basically in 2,000 years" (as cited in Pennycook, 1989, p. 363). Kelly then continued by mentioning that "the hardest orthodoxy to dislodge is that which suggests that what we are doing today is significantly different from all that has gone before" (as cited in Pennycook, 1989, p. 604).

#### 5.0. HISTORY OF METHODS

During the Classical period and through the Enlightenment period there have been many switches between how to teach language and the theories behind doing so. This cycle of comprehensive study ranges from emphasizing communication to analyzing texts by rules, which makes it:

Evident that the goals and therefore the procedures of language teaching closely reflect the social, political, cultural, and intellectual climate of the times. The entrenchment of learning in the monastery of the Middle Ages, with the goal of preserving Latin as the language of religion and scholarship, clearly led to a strong emphasis on the text and its analysis. (Pennycook, 1989, p. 598)

Even though the selection of methods has not changed much, there have been many textbooks created which claim that they have new methods and new ideas, as this proves to be a very productive selling strategy (Pennycook, 1989, p. 600). According to Cravolas (as cited in Pennycook, 1989, p. 600), "this forgetfulness is not always innocent. These days language teaching has become a colossal enterprise which, like any other industry, defends both its overt and covert interests by any means possible, in the name of profit and glory." Pennycook (1989) also mentioned how publishers have benefited from this commercially with the "pushing of methods through institutions such as the British Council or Berlitz all suggest important political, economic,

and ideological reasons for the growth and maintenance of the Method concept<sup>13</sup> (pp. 609-610). Pennycook (1989) noted that this pushing swayed many academics to make slight changes to a course in order to make a new edition. He also mentioned that we need to look into who is creating these methods and teaching materials and who is using them. Pennycook (1989) writes that "another aspect of the 'interest' in Method may be seen in the context of the gradual deskilling of the teacher's role" (p. 610). This is a sign of "a largely male academic body of consultants and developers, intervening at the level of practice into the work of a largely female workforce" (Pennycook, 1989, p. 610). This implies that the Methods may be playing a part in "maintaining the gendered division of the workforce, a hierarchically organized division between male conceptualizers and female practitioners" (Pennycook, 1989, pp. 610-611). If the case becomes a gradual deskilling of the teacher role, then the textbook becomes the point of authority, not the teacher.

## 6.0. THE TEXTBOOK AS TEACHER

### 6.1. The Deskilling of Teachers

Sherman (2010) noted that according to Sadker and Sadker, "students spend as much as 80 to 95 percent of classroom time using textbooks and that teachers make a majority of their instructional decisions based on the textbook" (p. 27). He warningly continued to emphasize the importance of evaluating the textbooks being used since there are times when the textbook acts as the entire curriculum to a course (p. 27). This is not something new. Educators, even in the 1930s, wrote about the textbook constraining teachers (Wakefield, 1998). The findings have been that the less experienced the teacher is, the more they depend on the textbook, and that if used as a tool and not the curriculum—in the manner it was meant to be used—the textbook proved to be very useful (Wakefield, 1998). One other factor is the training (or lack of training) that teachers have and an over-dependency on the textbook (Wakefield, 1998).

### 6.2. What Does the Textbook Teach?

Taylor-Mendes (2009) stated that the images in ESL and EFL textbooks affect students. "Students—consciously or unconsciously—use, absorb, and interpret the social, economic, and racial realities present in the photographs, cartoons, or pictures in their textbooks" (p. 65). In a 2001 one textbook study, students in Brazil were asked to analyze the images in ESL and EFL textbooks for what they portrayed; the students found: "(a) the United States is portrayed as the land of the white elite; (b) blacks are consistently represented as poor or powerless, while whites are represented as wealthy and powerful; and (c) race is divided by continent" (Taylor-Mendes, 2009, p. 72). One other point found by Taylor-Mendes' study was an abundance of English speaking countries (particularly the United Kingdom and the United States) being idealized in the textbooks. According to one of the students in the study, "generally, the pictures market or sell a dream that you too can achieve, here in your poor country with all these problems, a standard of living like the United States. Only this is not the United States, and the culture is very different" (Taylor-Mendes, 2009, p. 73). These images also showed a world with a "monocultural appearance divided neatly by continent. This kind of world has never existed" (Taylor-Mendes, 2009, p. 76). Any images of poverty or collapse were introduced in the context of other countries or continents, not the United States or the United Kingdom, while some textbook publishers attempt to gear their textbooks to a greater audience and "seem to reinforce a made-in-Hollywood version of culture that does not exist (and likely never existed)" (Taylor-Mendes, 2009, p. 77).

Going beyond Hollywood hype, Sherman (2010) cited numerous studies on sexism in textbooks. The studies made use of dialogues, analyzing the roles and number of times characters appeared in the textbooks. Studies showed that women tended to appear in non-professional roles and that males were the information keepers, spoke more and held professional roles (Sherman, 2010). According to Amare (2007), "despite several gender-fair language alternatives offered since the 1970s, linguistic sexism is still prevalent in several textbooks" (p. 165). The issue with this is that textbooks "reflect linguistic reality and influence linguistic and cultural practices" (Amare, 2007, p. 165). In other words, as some linguists argued, "language doesn't just mirror reality but may be more of a catalyst in perpetuat[ing] and institutionaliz[ing] sexist values and attitudes" (Herbert & Nykiel-Herbert as cited in Amare, 2007, p. 165). Sherman (2010) believed that the continuing use of sexist language should be looked further into. He believed that looking into this in coordination with the status of the speaker in the dialogues would have a significant link (p. 29).

Sherman (2010) utilized the methods of analyzing texts used in the studies about sexism found in textbooks to find if there was nativism in textbooks. His results showed that, "the introduction of the non-native

speaker into EFL textbooks has not been done in a fair and unbiased way” (p. 42). “Not only were native speakers used in recordings meant to be non-native characters. All of the dialogues that had two non-native speakers have the directions ‘Read along silently as you listen to a conversation in a (hotel/care rental agency/meeting) in (Spain/Germany/Brazil)’” (Saslow & Ascher, 2006 as cited in Sherman, 2010, p. 36). “All of the dialogues that involve 2 native speakers have the directions ‘Read along silently as you listen to a natural conversation’” (Saslow & Ascher, 2006 as cited in Sherman, 2010, p. 36). As can be seen by the above example, Sherman (2010) then discussed the term *natural* being used only with the native speaker dialogues, implying that conversations in English between two non-native speakers would not be natural. The nativist bias has implications in what text can be packaged and marketed as supporting native speaker models above non-native speakers (Sherman, 2010). This would then possibly result in consolidating the creation of “authoritative textbooks” and positioning the non-native speaker as always below the native one (Sherman, 2010). This may also result in having native models even though people learning English may be doing so to conduct business with other non-native speakers, thus not preparing students for how they intend to use English (Sherman, 2010). If a teacher then uses this material without analyzing the directions to listening activities, they would then be maintaining the bias, in all likelihood, without realizing it.

## 7.0. THE TEACHER'S ROLE

In regards specifically to the English language teacher, Sherman (2010) writes, “if TESOL [Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages] teachers fail to confront textbook bias, these educators are implicitly supporting as well as possibly socializing their students into accepting it” (p. 27). Evaluating the texts we use and questioning them then become a part of the teacher role and part of classroom time. Bartolome (1996) went further stating it to be a duty: “I would like to emphasize that teachers who work with subordinated populations have the responsibility to assist them in appropriating knowledge bases and discourse deemed desirable by greater society” (p. 179). Taylor-Mendes (2009) agreed, asserting “that the images in the EFL textbooks are a form of discourse that should be acknowledged and discussed in EFL classes for the purpose of countering racial stereotypes about English speakers and English-speaking nations” (p. 66). Freire wrote “that questioning who benefits from the existing power structures is integral to change because if inequities in power are left unexamined in our teaching, we are apt to reproduce or legitimize unequal power relationships both in and outside our classrooms” (as cited in Taylor-Mendes, 2009, p. 66). There is a continuation of warnings that teachers need to beware of their actions in the classroom and how they use a textbook that is not designed well by people who have their own motivations (Taylor-Mendes, 2009, p. 66). My concern is that because of this, the teacher is blamed continuously. If teachers do not follow the hierarchal curriculum, they may have to deal with work pressure. Although their students may appreciate it, if they lose their job because of it, how would this be beneficial to their students? I believe that critically evaluating textbooks is important and that having an open dialog with one's co-workers and higher-ups would be the ideal situation, along with being given time to create one's own materials.

## 8.0. THE FUTURE

“We need to recognize the complexities of language teaching and its contexts, and strive to validate other, local forms of knowledge about language and teaching” (Pennycook 1989, p. 613). Because of this, teachers able to create materials for a localized context would be able to meet the needs of the students in a positive way. As Pennycook (1989) points out, if teachers are given the option to base their teaching “on their own educational experiences, their personalities, their particular institutional, social, cultural, and political circumstances, their understanding of their particular students’ collective and individual needs, and so on”, the textbook could be used the way it should be—as another tool, one that is optional depending on the situation, and not the basis of the course (p. 606).

According to Bartolome (1996), the key to good teaching is respecting and valuing students’ cultural practices (p. 179). A successful case of teaching to a localized context has been occurring here in Hawai‘i. The Kamehameha Early Education Project found that “observations of native Hawaiian children showed them to be bright and capable learners; however, their behavior in the classroom signaled communication difficulties between them and their non-Hawaiian teachers” (Bartolome, 1996, p. 179). According to the Kamehameha Early Education Project website, “besides the emphasis on peer teaching and learning, researchers noted that Hawaiian culture promotes joint turn-taking during conversation”; this joint turn-taking is the famous *talk-story*

found in Hawaiian communities which was successfully implemented into the project's literacy curriculum (North Central Regional Educational Laboratory, 1995). What this shows is the importance that "trusting relations between teacher and students are established and power relations are mutually set and agreed upon" no matter the subject being taught (Bartolome, 1996, p. 180). This successful case goes against present education policy which leans toward treating all students as a generalizable mass (for example, the No Child Left Behind Act).

Present education policy is "designed to deliver mass education as efficiently as possible" and assessment with standardized testing (Trilling & Fadel, 2009, p. 36). This is the case for English as a second language as well. One needs only to look at the entrance requirements for universities to see that the score on the standard TOEFL is the criteria for a chance of being admitted to that university. According to the TOEFL homepage, "the TOEFL test is the most widely respected English-language test in the world, recognized by more than 7,500 colleges, universities and agencies in more than 130 countries" (Educational Testing Services, 2011). The textbooks for preparation of the TOEFL cause ethical concern according to Hamp-Lyon's (1996) survey of five TOEFL textbooks which promoted "boosting scores without mastery" and "teaching merely for score gain" (p. 334):

Just by using the text, even the highly experienced teacher who was new to teaching TOEFL preparation found it very difficult to plan classes around the units in the textbook, and classes were disorganized and full of vague, confusing, or incorrect explanations of arcane grammar points the textbook author considered likely to be tested on the TOEFL. This teacher was, perhaps, still subconsciously seeking the underlying logic in pedagogical grammar terms that he felt must underpin the book. (Hamp-Lyon, 1996, p. 333)

Adding to this is the fact that TOEFL preparation textbooks may not have all the properties of the actual tests, meaning teachers will not even be teaching for score gain unless the test creator's, the Educational Testing Service, preparation materials are used (Hamp-Lyon, 1996, p. 335). Hamp-Lyon (1996) then expressed concern about "how much time and student energy are diverted from mainstream, well-designed language classes, built around appropriate curricula and materials for the proficiency level of the students, in unproductive, test-mimicking exercises" from the TOEFL courses and texts, and that this unethical practice is the fault of testing agencies, publishers, and the authors of the preparation materials (p. 335).

There are some companies attempting a digital approach to educational content, supported by the educational publishing industry (Trilling & Fadel, 2009, p. 36). Another possibility for the future is strategic teaching. Strategic teaching puts the teacher in the role of coaching students on learning strategies so that they can consciously monitor their own learning (Bartolome, 1996, p. 181). One could utilize this in order to coach students on critically evaluating their textbooks, their teachers, their society, and so on.

Finally, the internet has influenced textbooks. "Publishers are seeking ways to 'plug in' to the electronic classroom, providing software, web sites and internet addresses for use by students, often in conjunction with textbooks" (Wakefield, 1998, p. 26). OWLs (Online Writing Labs) have been making available downloadable handouts that are being used in the classrooms around the world as supplementary material (Amare, 2007, p. 168). This shows promise for more transformative software-like versions of textbooks and learning through the use of online educational games like *Quest Atlantis* and *Second Life*.

## 9.0. CONCLUSION

We must keep in mind that textbooks, methods, and teaching all reflect the current fluxes within a society in a particular context. Textbooks were created to fill a need and at the same time to be profitable economically and politically—in terms of controlling a certain population for a certain need. In a world lacking neutrality, we need to decide what we want our students to remember in regards to the subject, and in what way it can influence their view of themselves and others. Just because something is not neutral does not mean it cannot be useful, even the most out-dated or politically drenched textbooks used in creative, adaptive ways can, in my option, be meaningful.



## NOTES

1. The *Method concept* is the claim that a new way or method of teaching has been developed and if it is followed precisely, the students will become better language users than if a different way of teaching were to be pursued. It is an idea that the Method is more important than the teacher when learning a language (Pennycook, 1989). Pennycook capitalizes method in order to distinguish this belief from the other use of the word method (Pennycook, 1989). I am following the same capitalizing strategy of Method in this paper.

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## II. Language Use and Culture



# CHUCK NORRIS JOKES: MANIFESTATIONS OF GENDER STEREOTYPES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

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## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Recent work in sociolinguistics has emphasized the idea that speakers are not simply members of monolithic speech communities that can be neatly delineated and described, but rather that speech is better described as the outcome of interactions in communities of practice (Bucholtz, 1999; Cameron, 1997; Eckert, 1996; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Mendoza-Denton, 1996). People construct their identities through their everyday language practices. Gender and sexuality, social designations that are often conflated, are only two of these aspects of identity that individuals construct through their speech. Given its pervasive nature, language is a powerful vehicle through which social stereotypes are both created and perpetuated. The words individuals use to talk about the world can become the world. It is therefore important to carefully consider the kinds of stereotypes that are promoted through language practices.

Chuck Norris, an American martial artist and actor, is the subject of a series of jokes that use references to what are typically thought of as masculine characteristics to humorously portray him as "the ultimate manly man." Even though the aspects of his manliness are humorously exaggerated, the fact that these particular traits are chosen over others indicate the kinds of stereotypical traits that have been and to some degree still are associated with being a "manly man" in American society. The jokes only work when listeners are aware of the kinds of stereotypes that are held about men in America, for instance, that they do not show their emotions and that they are aggressive and violent. While it could be argued that the Chuck Norris jokes are humorous because they depict a prototype of a male who no longer exists in American society, it is nonetheless still worth questioning whether the masculine traits portrayed in these jokes, for instance, violence toward women, should be the topics of humorous discussion. By portraying matters such as rape and violence against women in a humorous light, we undermine the very serious nature of these acts. The Chuck Norris jokes play off of stereotypes that are held about men, in some cases at the expense of disenfranchising women. This paper will identify and discuss the stereotypes about masculinity that are portrayed through the Chuck Norris jokes.

## 2.0. BACKGROUND

Authors such as Bucholtz (1999), Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003), and Mendoza-Denton (1996) have emphasized the idea that individuals construct their identities in communities of practice. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) describe a community of practice as a group of individuals who are oriented around a shared enterprise and who develop activities, ways of participating in those activities, and practices with regards to knowledge, beliefs, and ways of relating to each other (p. 57). Bucholtz (1999) describes one particular community of practice, a group of "nerd girls" at a U.S. high school, in which the participants negotiate their gender and other aspects of their identities through their interactions. Mendoza-Denton (1996) depicts the situation of a group of Latin gang girls who use linguistic and stylistic resources in constructing their identities through their everyday practices. It is both the language these girls use as well as the makeup they wear that contribute to their constructions of identity. Similarly, Eckert (1996) describes a group of California fifth and sixth grade preadolescents who transition into new performances of gendered identity through their body movements, choices in clothing, and language. The work of these authors has solidified the idea that language is a crucial resource in constructions of gendered identity. In performing their gendered identities, individuals draw on a pool of semiotic resources, including hair styles, clothing, ways of walking, and ways of talking, just to name a few.

Researchers in recent years have sought to isolate the variants of speech that are typically associated with membership in different gender categories, as well as different sexualities. The findings of these researchers have been fruitful. Moonwomon (1997) found that the average height of peak pitch syllables was lower in a conversation between two homosexual women than in a conversation between two heterosexual women. Levon (2006, 2007) found that sibilant duration and pitch range were two variables that affected

listener judgments of gender, and pitch range also affected judgments of speaker sexuality. Such studies demonstrate that investigations of language can shed light on the varied and intricate links between language gender, and sexuality.

Studies have shown that it is not only what people say but how they say it that indexes their social affiliations. Cameron (1997) found that a group of five college men engaged in a discussion about a man they viewed as insufficiently masculine used terms such as *gay* as well as descriptions about what the man was wearing (which they likened to women's clothing) and the fact that he most likely shaved his legs. Grama and Winter (2010) found that male athletes used the term *fag*, not necessarily with direct association to homosexuality, to index their masculinity in interactions with their teammates. This kind of interaction promotes ideals of hegemonic masculinity, and that is exactly what the Chuck Norris jokes described in this paper do as well. Making jokes that refer to stereotypical masculine and feminine traits serves to re-circulate those stereotypes and perpetuate the gender order in U.S. society.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) stress the idea that language practices create and reaffirm social values (pp. 53-54). They discuss the situation of titles used to address women and how the term *Ms.* was added to the English repertoire in the 1960s by feminists so that women could be addressed by a term that did not explicitly identify their marital status (pp. 53-54). Women who were married were frequently expected to leave jobs, women who were not married but had children were looked down upon, and women who were older and alone were considered failures (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, pp. 53-54). The terms of address *Miss* and *Mrs.*, therefore, served to reinforce a gender order that was oppressive to women. This situation highlights the impact that language can have on social practices. This idea is crucial to remember in the discussion of Chuck Norris jokes in this paper.

Highly relevant to the findings discussed in this paper is Deborah Cameron's (1992) study regarding naming of the male genitalia among college students. Cameron had two groups of white, middle-class, heterosexual undergraduate students, one male group and one female group, generate as many terms as they could for the penis. She then categorized the terms generated by each group according to the themes they portrayed. The male group generated 144 terms in 30 minutes, with the recurrent themes in these terms being the penis represented as a person, an animal, a tool, a weapon, or a foodstuff. References to the penis as an entity with uncontrollable, animal desires and as a symbol of authority or infliction of pain manifested conventions having to do with cultural norms for masculinity, according to Cameron. The female group generated only 50 terms, which were categorized into the themes of personal names, animals, food, romance fiction, long, thin, hard, and useless things, and nonsense terms, the latter of which contained the largest number of terms. The female group had only one term for the theme of the penis as a tool, compared to the male group's 19 terms in that category. Likewise, the female group had only two terms referring to the penis as a weapon, whereas the male group had 15 terms in that category. The differences in themes represented by the male and female groups' terms for the penis manifest underlying stereotypes of masculinity as dominance and femininity as passivity that are promoted through male discourse. Even though members of the male group regarded the activity of generating terms for the penis as humorous and entertaining, Cameron cautions that such stereotypes should not be taken lightly, as they re-circulate gender ideology that is dangerous and oppressive for females.

Built upon Cameron's (1992) study, the analysis of the Chuck Norris jokes presented in this paper focuses on identifying the themes present in the presentations of Chuck Norris as the epitome of masculinity. Recurring themes in the jokes are easily recognizable and will be categorized and described below.

### 3.0. MATERIALS AND PROCEDURE

The foundation for this project was a cursory glance at a large body of Chuck Norris jokes gleaned from multiple online sources, which manifested a host of stereotypes about American male masculinity. To investigate these stereotypes in more detail, 200 jokes exemplifying the principal themes were chosen randomly from five different websites and were put together in a corpus. The jokes were then categorized according to the stereotypes of masculinity they portrayed. The five websites are cited at the end of this paper and are titled as follows: a) *Chuck Norris Facts*, b) *The Chuck Norris Facts*, c) *4Q.cc*, d) *Must Share Jokes*, and e) *Wet Paint*. Chuck Norris jokes from another website, *Duckshit.com*, are presented as examples of the themes discussed in this paper but were not included in the 200 jokes analyzed for percentages. Percentages of the 200 total jokes

were calculated for each stereotype to find out which ones seemed to be more central to the masculine prototype represented by Chuck Norris. In addition, word searches were performed in the corpus of 200 jokes to determine how particular words were used in the jokes. It should be mentioned that the corpus of zoo jokes was a random sampling and not a comprehensive collection of all of the jokes from the five websites that reference the key stereotypes of masculinity.

#### 4.0. RESULTS

Table 1 below shows the different categories of stereotypes about masculinity that were found in the 200 Chuck Norris jokes that were investigated for this study. Many of the jokes referred to multiple of these themes. The theme of males being inflictors of violence, death, and destruction was most common at 47% of the 200 jokes, with possession of power and worthiness of worship trailing closely after at 37%. References to Chuck Norris as the epitome of masculinity being heterosexual, desirable, promiscuous, and virile were found in 20% of the jokes, and references to his toughness were found in 13% of the jokes. Perhaps more worrisome was the theme of sexual aggression and rape, which was found in 6% of the jokes. Other themes of masculinity found in the jokes included consumption of food and beverages considered masculine as well as the penis, sex, and masturbation as central to masculinity. Descriptions of these overall themes as well as examples to illustrate are presented below.

Table 1: Stereotypes found in a collection of 200 Chuck Norris jokes

Theme	Total (/200)	Percentage
Infliction of violence, death, destruction	94	47%
Possession of power; Being worthy of worship	74	37%
Heterosexuality, promiscuity, virility, and desirability	39	20%
Toughness	26	13%
Sexual aggression/rape	12	6%

As mentioned above, Chuck Norris is presented as the epitome of masculinity in these jokes. The joke below illustrates this point.

- (1) Chuck Norris could have been a lumberjack but he was too manly. (*Wet Paint*)

Example 1 plays on the stereotype of a lumberjack as a strong, tough man who works outdoors and is good with his hands. Chuck Norris is presented in the most extreme light in all of the jokes described here. He is more masculine than even the prototype of masculinity. In fact, sometimes he is portrayed as more masculine than even himself. As shown in Table 1, a central aspect of this extreme masculinity is Chuck Norris' ability and tendency to inflict pain, death, violence, and destruction. Examples 2 through 4 below illustrate this theme.

- (2) The grass is always greener on the other side, unless Chuck Norris has been there. In that case the grass is most likely soaked in blood and tears. (*Must Share Jokes*)
- (3) There are no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq; Chuck Norris lives in Oklahoma. (*Must Share Jokes*)
- (4) There is no theory of evolution. Just a list of animals Chuck Norris allows to live. (*Chuck Norris Facts*)

In example 2, the adage "the grass is always greener on the other side" is manipulated for humorous effect to express the regular pain and death which Chuck Norris, as the ultimate masculine man, inflicts. Example 3 plays off of a reference to the familiar weapons of mass destruction spoken of frequently during the term of U.S. President George W. Bush. The destructive ability of Chuck Norris is likened to the destructive capability of weapons of mass destruction, reinforcing the idea that Chuck Norris is dangerous and someone to be feared. Similarly, Example 4 references the idea that Chuck Norris is a man to be feared; he can make animals extinct upon a whim.

In fact, central to the humor of these jokes is Chuck Norris' trademark roundhouse kick, which is specifically referenced in 32, or 16%, of the 200 jokes. This is shown in Example 5 below.

- (5) Before science was invented it was once believed that autumn occurred when Chuck Norris roundhouse kicked every tree in existence. (*The Chuck Norris Facts*)
- (6) Chuck Norris doesn't need a condom. His sperm just roundhouse kicks the shit out of the egg. (*Wet Paint*)

As mentioned above, many Chuck Norris jokes play on multiple stereotypes about masculinity to achieve humorous effect. Example 5 presents Chuck Norris as an almost god-like character who is capable of committing extraordinary feats, such as roundhouse kicking trees, and even bringing about a change in seasons. In such a way, this example is also related to the next theme that will be discussed: possession of power and worthiness of worship. In addition to referencing the all-powerful roundhouse kick that is closely tied with his ability to inflict pain, damage, and destruction, Example 6 also references another theme that will be discussed below: sexual aggression. In this example, the sperm, which is associated with the male reproductive organs, aggresses on the egg, which is associated with the female reproductive organs, and as such could be interpreted as a metaphor for male sexual aggression.

The second most commonly occurring theme found in the 200 jokes was that of Chuck Norris as possessing power, even super power, and of him being worthy of worship because of his omnipotence. Examples 7, 8, and 9 below illustrate this theme.

- (7) Chuck Norris and Superman once fought each other on a bet. The loser had to start wearing his underwear on the outside of his pants. (*Chuck Norris Facts*)
- (8) Night time . . . when Chuck Norris tells the sun it's time for bed. (*Chuck Norris Facts*)
- (9) When God said, "Let there be light," Chuck Norris said, "say please." (*4Q.cc*)

Reference to super heroes and mythical creatures is common in the Chuck Norris jokes, and in each case, Chuck Norris is portrayed as stronger, more powerful, more sexually capable, or more worthy of worship than any of those super heroes or mythical creatures. Example 7 clearly achieves humorous effect by making reference to Superman's costume, but it is also interesting to note the usage of the word "fought" in the first sentence to connote a fierce competition. The usage of this term reinforces associations of masculinity as associated with being aggressive and able to win in a fight.

Examples 8 and 9 allude to the fact that Chuck Norris is so powerful that he is god-like. Example 8 demonstrates the exaggeration that makes the Chuck Norris jokes humorous, as he is so powerful that he determines when day and night happen. Example 9 is even stronger, with Chuck Norris identified as even more powerful than God Himself. Again, this joke plays off of a famous expression from the Bible, God's words "let there be light," in order to create humorous effect.

As the epitome of masculinity, Chuck Norris is also described as heterosexual, promiscuous, desirable, and virile. This theme is clearly manifested in examples 10 through 13 below.

- (10) When Chuck Norris has sex with a man, it is not because he is gay, but because he has run out of women. (*Duckshit.com*)
- (11) Chuck Norris made Ellen DeGeneres straight. (*The Chuck Norris Facts*)
- (12) Chuck Norris once masturbated and got three chicks in the next county pregnant. (*Wet Paint*)
- (13) Chuck Norris lost his virginity before his dad did. (*Duckshit.com*)



Example 10 clearly identifies Chuck Norris as heterosexual, or at least, that is, until he has run out of women. In fact, Chuck Norris' sexual desire and prowess are so great that once he has slept with all of the women in existence, he moves on to men. Example 11 references a famous American lesbian actress and talk show host, Ellen DeGeneres, saying that Chuck Norris is so desirable that even someone who is not attracted to men will desire him. Example 12 illustrates the theme of virility that occurs in many of the Chuck Norris jokes; his sperm are so potent that they can impregnate females at very large distances. This is clearly over-exaggerated and absurd, but that is where the humor of the joke resides. Also interesting to note is the language used in Example 12. There is a reference to masturbation, which is a common theme in the Chuck Norris jokes that will be discussed below, as well as usage of the term "chicks" to refer to women. The term "chicks" is a slang term used typically by males to refer to women that could arguably be viewed as degrading but which, in any case, is certainly not respectful. Example 13 clearly expresses the idea that Chuck Norris is desirable and promiscuous.

A fourth theme found in the jokes, that of rape and sexual aggression, could arguably be considered more detrimental as a metaphor that is re-circulated in society. Examples 14, 15, and 16 below demonstrate this theme.

- (14) Since Chuck Norris had had sex with every woman on the planet and had gotten tired of raping grown men, he decided to fornicate with a dragon. The next day the dragon gave birth to Bruce Lee and Steven Segal. (*Wet Paint*)
- (15) When observing a Chuck Norris roundhouse kick in slow motion, one finds that Chuck Norris actually rapes his victim in the ass, smokes a cigarette with Dennis Leary, and then roundhouse kicks them in the face. (*The Chuck Norris Facts*)
- (16) On June 7th 1994, Chuck Norris entered the same restaurant supermodel Cindy Crawford was eating at. Instinctively, Cindy swept everything off the table, threw herself on it in a fit of lust, and begged Chuck to ravish her. After Chuck finished his beer, he obliged her. When Chuck's magnificent lead sperm cannoned into Cindy's womb it went straight to one of her ovaries and roared, "Which one of you servile wenches thinks you can handle getting split open by the Chuck!?" All of the eggs cowered in the corner. The same thing happened at the other ovary. "I didn't fucking think so!" shouted the lead sperm which then lead the rest of the troops back into Chuck's balls. Chuck pulled out; roundhouse kicked Cindy in the face and told her, "Don't ever waste my time again." (*The Chuck Norris Facts*)

All three of these jokes contain references to famous people to add humorous effect. In Example 14, there is again reference to the insatiable sexual appetite of Chuck Norris, who sleeps with men only after having intercourse with all women on the planet. In this joke there is clear reference to rape and then to having intercourse with a dragon, another symbol of power and strength. Example 15 contains two references to the roundhouse kick, symbolic of aggression and strength, in addition to raping someone "in the ass," presumably a reference to raping grown men, as seen in Example 14.

However, the theme of sexual aggression also extends to females. Example 16 contains a host of stereotypes about masculinity; Chuck Norris is so desirable that even a super model cannot resist him, but his stoic nature and disregard for her lust is manifested through his hesitance to offer Cindy Crawford any physical pleasure until after he has finished his beer. Again, in this joke, we see a depiction of sexual aggression via the metaphor of sperm representing man as aggressor on eggs and ovaries, which represent women. In addition to being magnificent and made of lead, another reference to virility, Chuck Norris' sperm uses aggressive language and acts of violence (roundhouse kicking) against Cindy's eggs. It is interesting to observe the kinds of language used in this joke as well. In the third sentence, there is a reference to a weapon, a cannon, which is reminiscent of the findings of Cameron (1992) with respect to weapons being related to stereotypes of masculinity. Similarly, the reference to leading the troops in the seventh and eighth sentences of Example 16 conjures up images of the military, which is frequently associated with being a male-dominated profession. Also adding to the dichotomy between male aggressor and female victim in this joke is the personified sperm that uses the negative term "servile wenches" to address the personified female eggs. By observing not only the

themes but also the particular kinds of lexical items used in the Chuck Norris jokes, we are able to recognize a wide range of stereotypical masculine traits that are recirculated in American society.

A fifth theme that occurs in the Chuck Norris jokes is that stoicism is masculine. Chuck Norris, as the masculine prototype, cannot and does not show emotion, not only publicly but also privately. This theme is clearly shown in Examples 17 and 18.

- (17) Chuck Norris' tears could cure cancer. Too bad he's never cried. (*The Chuck Norris Facts*)
- (18) Chuck Norris was originally considered for the part of Jesus in the Passion of the Christ. However, the director realized that Chuck Norris cannot show the emotion of pain. He can only inflict it. (*Must Share Jokes*)

Example 17 is perhaps one of the most famous Chuck Norris jokes. It creates humor through playing off of two different stereotypes—that Chuck Norris is omnipotent and that he does not possess emotions. Example 18 again draws a comparison between Chuck Norris and a god-like entity, Jesus, and it also expresses the idea that Chuck Norris is emotionless. In addition, the theme of infliction of pain is mentioned in the last sentence of this example.

The representation of masculinity represented by Chuck Norris even extends to the kinds of food and drink that are considered stereotypically masculine. Examples 16 and 19 demonstrate this theme.

- (19) Chuck Norris once ate three 72 oz. steaks in one hour. He spent the first 45 minutes having sex with his waitress. (*The Chuck Norris Jokes*)

Example 19 refers to Chuck's consumption of a stereotypically masculine food, red meat, to achieve humorous effect, and it also makes reference to the theme of sexual desirability and promiscuity discussed above in its description of Chuck Norris' intercourse with his waitress. Another example of the food and drink theme is Example 16, in which Chuck must finish his beer before giving in to Cindy Crawford's plea to ravish her. As beer has stereotypically been considered a masculine beverage in the U.S. (as opposed to wine, which is stereotypically feminine on many accounts), this reference is not coincidental. These obscure references to kinds of food Chuck Norris eats serve to enhance the representation of masculinity presented in the jokes.

Not surprisingly, masculinity in the Chuck Norris jokes is associated with being tall and tough. This theme is shown in Examples 20 and 21 below.

- (20) Chuck Norris is ten feet tall, weighs two tons, breathes fire, and could eat a hammer and take a shotgun blast standing. (*The Chuck Norris Facts*)
- (21) Chuck Norris drinks napalm to quell his heartburn. (*The Chuck Norris Facts*)

Example 20 contains multiple references to Chuck's physical stature and prowess, including his height, weight, and ability to withstand extreme physical pain. Example 21 goes a step further, referencing a chemical used in warfare as a substance ingested by Chuck to aid in his digestion.

Interestingly, as mentioned above, at least 24, or 12%, of the 200 jokes made reference to the male penis or one of its states of being. Two examples of this kind of reference are presented below.

- (22) Chuck Norris is not hung like a horse . . . horses are hung like Chuck Norris. (*4Q.cc*)
- (23) Chuck Norris once walked down the street with a massive erection. There were no survivors. (*The Chuck Norris Facts*)

Example 22 draws on the common expression that a man with a large penis is "hung like a horse" and turns the expression around for humorous effect. Example 23 again draws on the idea of the penis, and more specifically a large penis, as central to masculinity. The stereotype that a man's masculinity is directly

proportional to the size of his penis is one that is not only used in the Chuck Norris jokes but that is circulated in a number of other jokes in U.S. society.

A word search performed on the text of the 200 jokes provided insight into some of the recurring themes that have been mentioned above. Central to masculinity as portrayed through the Chuck Norris jokes are sex and masturbation. The phrase *have sex* appears 12 times in the composite text, five times of which are with reference to having sex with someone's wife, mother, or sister. The term *fuck* shows up three times, *sleep with* twice, *bang* once, *ravish* once, and *masturbate* four times. Also interesting are the terms that show up with respect to representations of females. The terms *woman* and *women* occur six times in the text, all related to having sex, and the term *girlfriend* occurs once, with reference to Chuck ripping out his girlfriend's throat. The terms *wife* and *wives* occur four times, three of which are related to having sex and one time related to Chuck roundhouse kicking his wife. The term *girl* occurs twice, both of which are related to having sex. These associations are clearly not coincidental and manifest stereotypes of women as sex objects, or worse, victims of sexual assault.

## 5.0. DISCUSSION

It has been shown through the analysis of the various stereotypes of masculinity portrayed through the Chuck Norris jokes that gender stereotypes are still alive and well in the U.S. Some readers might say that the humor of these jokes rests in the fact that they portray extreme prototypes of masculinity that were perhaps at one time existent but at the present time no longer exist. Unfortunately, that is not the case. As described above, Cameron's (1992) study demonstrated that gender ideology wherein males are aggressors and wielders of the penis-as-weapon is re-circulated on a regular basis through talk about the penis. According to Cameron, jokes about the penis or masculinity, like all jokes, mask anxieties (pp. 373-374). Even if the males in her study were poking fun at the penis, in the end they were reaffirming the values they spoke of and re-circulating the metaphors regarding the penis-as-warrior and penis-as-weapon.

However, it is not only stereotypes of masculinity that are re-circulated in the penis terms of Cameron's (1992) study as well as in the Chuck Norris jokes described in this paper. In addition to drawing on stereotypical male traits like toughness and aggression to puff up the ideal of masculinity, they also draw on representations of women as passive victims to further enhance these representations of masculinity. In such a way, a dichotomy of masculinity and femininity is created, in which masculinity is equated with power and aggression and femininity with passivity. The terms used to refer to women in the Chuck Norris jokes, as well as the contexts in which they occur, are worrisome from a feminist standpoint. The fact that terms for females only occur in the 200 jokes investigated in this study with respect to either sexual intercourse or physical aggression is a worrisome sign of the kinds of stereotypes that exist regarding females in U.S. society. The Chuck Norris jokes would have readers believe that women are at best sex objects and at worst targets for physical aggression. In fact, there are even explicit mentions in the Chuck Norris jokes of women as the targets of rape and sexual aggression, a fact which should not be taken lightly.

It seems likely that these jokes were created by men for men, given the kinds of language they use and stereotypes about masculinity they portray. Further research will need to be conducted to find out if this is the case, but if it is, it is most likely also true that they serve as a resource not only for humorously discussing stereotypes of masculinity, but also as a type of symbolic capital used in conversation to index masculinity. That is to say, the very act of telling these jokes could be indexed with ideals of masculinity, just as usage of the term *fag* among athletes in Grama and Winter's (2010) study was. It would be interesting in future work to determine if reactions to the jokes are different for audiences of different genders, sexualities, or other social designations as self-identified by participants. In comparing reactions to the jokes across groups, it might become apparent who holds these particular stereotypes regarding masculinity and whether norms for masculinity differ across individuals or members of particular social categories.

Stereotypes like the ones about masculinity portrayed through the Chuck Norris jokes may seem innocuously humorous, but it is important to consider the kinds of social norms they re-circulate and perpetuate. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) stress the idea that the kinds of language we use in society manifest and perpetuate social norms. Stereotypes of men as tough and women as nice seem innocent enough, but when applied in practice, they can be inhibiting and oppressive. Rudman and Glick (2001), for instance, present

evidence for discrimination in hiring practices for women who did not fit prescriptive norms for female "niceness." They describe a situation wherein women in leadership positions were expected to maintain feminine qualities such as niceness while at the same time fulfilling agentic requirements, and failure to do so resulted in backlash (Rudman & Glick, 2001, p. 759).

As mentioned in the background to this paper, Eckert (1996) described the ways in which a group of pre-adolescents came to act out their gender identities through their usages of particular linguistic and stylistic resources. On a related note, Paterson and Lach (1990) describe the effects of picture books on gender stereotypes in children, finding that while representations of females as domestic and secondary characters have decreased in story books, there remains a host of story books in circulation in which such gender stereotypes still exist. Children draw on the resources around them when forming their concepts of gender, so it is important to carefully consider the kinds of gender stereotypes that are encouraged among children. It is also important to carefully consider the possible consequences of perpetuating a rigid gender order in society, as it is limiting to those who do not fit neatly within a particular category like "masculine" or "feminine" as perpetuated through popular discourse.

## 6.0. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this paper has provided evidence for stereotypes of masculinity in U.S. society through the analysis of a set of jokes about a famous American actor, Chuck Norris. It was shown that not only the themes present in the jokes but also the specific kinds of language used to describe males and females served to reinforce representations of masculine males as tough, stoic, powerful, aggressive, virile, promiscuous beef-eating and beer-drinking inflictors of pain, death, and destruction. While humorously exaggerated, the assumptions underlying the Chuck Norris jokes need to be carefully considered, for they perpetuate stereotypes of masculinity that are oppressive to members of U.S. society at large. Future work should focus on finding other sources of the perpetuation of these stereotypes and working toward bringing these issues to public attention so that potentially oppressive gender stereotypes in U.S. society can eventually be eliminated.

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# AN ACOUSTIC STUDY OF THE NEUTRAL TONE IN TAIWAN MANDARIN

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## ABSTRACT

This study examines the pitch contours of the neutral tone in Taiwan Mandarin. The results of 12 Taiwan Mandarin speakers show that the neutral-tone syllables have a mid-low pitch target except in some frequent vocabulary items, or when the original lexical tone is obvious. Unlike Standard Mandarin, the neutral tone moves toward a mid-low pitch target in tested disyllabic words or phrases, novel occurrences, and consecutive neutral-tone sequences regardless of the preceding or following tones.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Taiwan Mandarin, a Mandarin dialect spoken in Taiwan, is known to have fewer unstressed syllables than Standard Mandarin. The neutral tone and the syllable de-stressing occur less frequently in Taiwan Mandarin (Duanmu, 2007; Kubler, 1985; Swihart, 2003). Taiwan Mandarin is therefore often described as having a relatively staccato rhythm (Kubler, 1985), and it is perceived as more syllable-timed than Standard Mandarin. However, this rhythmic difference in Taiwan Mandarin might not only be attributed to the low frequency of the unstressed syllables. In order to understand this dialectal rhythmic difference, the treatment of the remaining unstressed syllables needs to be examined. In Taiwan Mandarin, it seems that the phonetic features of its unstressed syllables are different from those of Standard Mandarin.

Standard Mandarin (SM) has left-headed disyllabic feet; a good disyllabic foot can be heavy-heavy or heavy-light (Duanmu, 2000). The light syllables are unstressed. In Standard Mandarin, 15-20% of the syllables in written texts are prescriptively unstressed (Li, 1981). Furthermore, about one-third of all syllables are unstressed and toneless in SM in connected speech (Duanmu, 2000). An unstressed syllable reduces in Standard Mandarin: The coda nasal is lost and the vowel reduces towards a schwa (Duanmu, 2000). An unstressed syllable is therefore shorter in duration (Chao, 1968). In addition, Mandarin has four lexical tones: high /H/, rising /LH/, dipping /L/, and falling /HL/, and the tone of the unstressed syllable /Ø/ is decided by the lexical tone of the preceding syllable. For example, /fei-lə/ /H-Ø/ 'fly-PERF' is [55-2], /lai-lə/ /LH-Ø/ 'come-PERF' is [35-3], /mai-lə/ /L-Ø/ 'buy-PERF' is [21-4], and /mai-lə/ /HL-Ø/ 'sell-PERF' is [51-1]. The actual pitch of the /lə/ is determined by the lexical tone of the preceding syllable (Chao, 1968; Lee & Zee, 2008; Lin & Yan, 1980). These unstressed syllables are often referred to as having a neutral tone. Chen and Xu (2006) further found that the consecutive neutral-tone syllables have a mid-level pitch target. Figure 1 shows how the consecutive neutral tones are influenced by the preceding lexical tones and slowly merge to a mid-target. For a full lexical tone, the influence of the preceding lexical tone is overcome quickly and the underlying tonal target is implemented immediately. In contrast, the mid target in a neutral tone is slowly approached with weak articulatory strength, and the influence of the preceding lexical tone is slowly shown in the consecutive neutral-tone syllables.

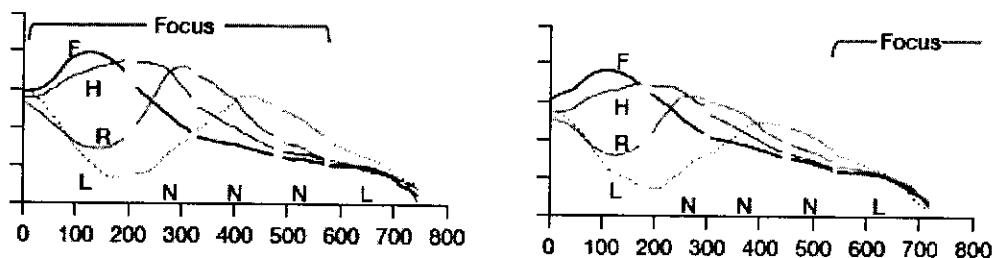


Figure 1: Mean F0 Contours of 3 Consecutive Neutral-tone Syllables in Different Tonal Contexts under Different Focus Conditions before a Low Tone in SM (Chen & Xu, 2006, p. 54)

However, there seem to be dialect variations on unstressed syllables in Taiwan Mandarin (TM). TM is based on the eastern (Jiang-Huai) dialect, and has been influenced by Southern Min (another Chinese language) (Norman, 1988). SM and TM differ in many aspects of phonology, such as initial consonants, final consonants, and pitch patterns. As mentioned earlier, unstressed syllables are less frequent in TM. In TM the second

syllables of reduplications or of many disyllabic words are usually stressed while they are unstressed in Standard Mandarin. These second syllables do not reduce their vowels or lose their original tones. These syllables are even spelled with the original tones in the dictionary that is compiled by Ministry of Education of Taiwan.

Aside from fewer prescriptive unstressed syllables, many of the prescriptively neutral-tone reduplication forms and lexical items are obviously produced with lexical tones. For example, /caŋ-jɿŋ/ 'a housefly' is spelled as /H-Ø/ in dictionaries, but it is pronounced as /H-LH/ by TM speakers. The rimes of these second syllables are not reduced at all. These syllables are clearly stressed. They retain their original lexical tones as stressed syllables.

The lower frequency of the unstressed syllables in TM, prescriptively and descriptively, contributes to the fact that TM is more syllable-timed than SM. Furthermore, it seems that the rhythmic difference even affects the remaining unstressed syllables. These unstressed syllables prescriptively have a neutral tone, and they either do not behave like the tone before destressing, or they cannot be traced back to a full tone at all. These syllables are mostly grammatical morphemes such as the possessive marker *de*, perfective marker *le*, progressive marker *zhe*, question particles *ma* and *ne*, fossilized suffixes *zi* and *tou*, and plural marker *men*. These unstressed syllables can also be found in some lexical items such as the second syllable in *di-di* 'younger brother,' *er-duo* 'ear,' and so on.

Although these neutral-tone syllables do not show any original lexical tones, they do not seem to have the neutral tone like those in SM either. In Taiwan Mandarin, by observation, the pitch of a neutral-tone syllable does not seem to be determined by the preceding syllable. For example, as shown in Table 1, the perfective suffix /lə/ in TM sounds low regardless of the tones of the preceding syllables. If /lə/ has a neutral tone in SM, I expect /lə/ to have different pitches depending on the previous tone.

Table 1: The Pitch Values of the Neutral Tone /lə/ in SM and TM.

	Gloss	SM	SM tone and pitch	TM	TM pitch
1	buy-PERF 'bought'	/mai-lə/	L-Ø [21-4]	/mai-lə/	[21-1]
2	go-PERF 'went'	/təhy-lə/	HL-Ø [51-1]	/təhy-lə/	[51-1]

The purpose of this study is to examine the pitch patterns of the neutral-tone syllables in TM and to see whether these syllables are really toneless. I expect to show that, unlike SM, the neutral tone is not toneless in TM. The pitch of the neutral tone cannot be predicted by the preceding or following tones. The TM neutral tone has a pitch target except in some frequent vocabulary items, or when the original lexical tone is obvious. This pitch pattern can even be found in novel occurrences or consecutive neutral-tone sequences.

This study is the first to give a detailed portrait of the pitch of the neutral tone in TM. It further argues that the neutral-tone in TM is not really toneless as in SM. The acoustic description of the neutral tone in TM can help us understand more on how rhythmic differences are realized in the pitch of the tone languages. This study can also help us to give a more accurate phonological portrait of the TM dialect.

## 2.0. PITCH CONTOURS OF THE NEUTRAL TONE

In this study, I designed three experiments to examine the pitch contours of the neutral-tone syllables. In sections 2.1. and 2.2., I investigate the pitch contours of the neutral-tones syllables in disyllabic words and novel occurrences. In 2.3., I explore the pitch contours of the consecutive neutral tones.

### 2.1. Pitch Contours of Disyllabic Neutral-tone Syllables

I hypothesize that the pitch contours of the neutral-tone syllables in Taiwan Mandarin do not behave like those in Standard Mandarin. The pitch contours of the neutral-tone syllables seem to have a low target regardless of the preceding lexical tones. Therefore the first production test is to look at the pitch contours of the neutral-tone syllables in disyllabic words/phrases.

#### 2.1.1. Materials

Several prescriptively fairly frequent neutral-tone syllables were selected. These syllables included grammatical markers such as perfective *le*, possessive/nominalizer *de*, durative *zhe*, plural marker *men*,

diminutive suffixes *zi* and *tou*, and classifier *ge*. These syllables either do not have an original lexical tone, such as *le*, *de*, and *zhe*, or their pitch patterns do not always resemble their original lexical tones.

In order to test whether or not these syllables show the neutral-tone features, these syllables were elicited after syllables with the four different lexical tones in Mandarin (H, LH, L, HL). For example, subjects were asked to read *chi-le* /H-Ø/ 'eaten,' *lai-le* /LH-Ø/ 'come,' *mai-le* /L-Ø/ 'bought,' and *qu-le* /HL-Ø/ 'gone' in order to test the perfective marker *le*. There were a total of 7 (tested neutral-tone syllables) x 4 (preceding tones) = 28 words/phrases tested. The tested disyllabic words/phrases were elicited in a frame sentence: *Qingshuo XX baci* (Please say XX eight times).

### 2.1.2. Subjects

The subjects were six male and six female Taiwan Mandarin speakers who were between 18 to 35 years old without any speaking or hearing impairments. Subjects all grew up in Taiwan and have not resided in any foreign countries for more than three months in the past year. Subjects' parents all speak Taiwanese as their native language. The subjects were notified of their rights as human subjects and asked to sign consent forms. The subjects were also informed that their speech would be recorded, but their personal information and identity would remain confidential.

### 2.1.3. Equipment

The subjects were recorded with a Zoom H2 handy recorder in quiet offices in National Cheng Kung University. The speech was recorded with the sample rate 44100 Hz.

### 2.1.4. Procedures

The subjects were asked to read 28 disyllabic words/phrases carried in the frame sentence *Qingshuo XX baci* (Please say XX eight times). All the sentences were written in Chinese characters and the subjects were asked to read every sentence just once. The subjects could repeat the sentences if they felt they made a mistake. The subjects were asked to read 118 sentences in this task, including 28 tested sentences and 90 filler sentences. The test words and fillers were randomly ordered, so the subjects would not notice the goal of the task and produce too carefully. The whole procedure took about 20 minutes.

### 2.1.5. Data Analysis

The recorded speech was analyzed in Praat. In this study, only the rimes of the syllables were segmented. In this way, it is easier to compare the F0 contour across different syllables. Otherwise a syllable with an initial obstruent only has F0 readings in half of the syllable while a syllable with an initial sonorant has F0 readings throughout the syllable. Phonetic studies also show that the pitch contours in the initial consonants are irregular, and the tones are not implemented until the beginning of the rimes (Howie, 1976; Xu, 1999).

The tested syllables were hand labeled at the beginning and the end of the rime. The beginning of the rime was measured from the abrupt increase of the amplitude of the waveform. The end of the rime was measured to the beginning of the stop closure or the beginning of the fricative noise. The beginning and the end of F2 energy were used when the waveform was ambiguous. Segmentation was also cross-checked with the audio signals and the spectrogram.

The F0 of the rimes were measured with the aid of a Praat script.<sup>1</sup> The script divided any labeled interval (rime) into tenths, and measured the midpoint of all the 1/10 intervals. Therefore each rime had 10 F0 measurements distributed evenly. Each F0 measurement was transformed to semitone, and then normalized to z-score for cross speakers comparison. The data were plotted using Microsoft Excel. The x-axis abstractly represents a normalization of the time, and each number on the x-axis represents one-tenth of the rimes. The y-axis represents the pitch in semitone z-score.



### 2.1.6. Results

Figure 2a shows the results of the neutral-tone syllables *-ge*, *-le*, *-de*, *-zhe*, and *-zi*. It illustrates the average pitch contours of two syllables: The first syllable (x-axis 1-10) is the varied preceding lexical tone and the second syllable (X-axis 11-20) is the tested neutral-tone syllable. There are double lines separating the two syllables to show that there are initial consonants in between. As shown in the charts, the four lines represent /H-Ø, LH-Ø, L-Ø, HL-Ø/ respectively.

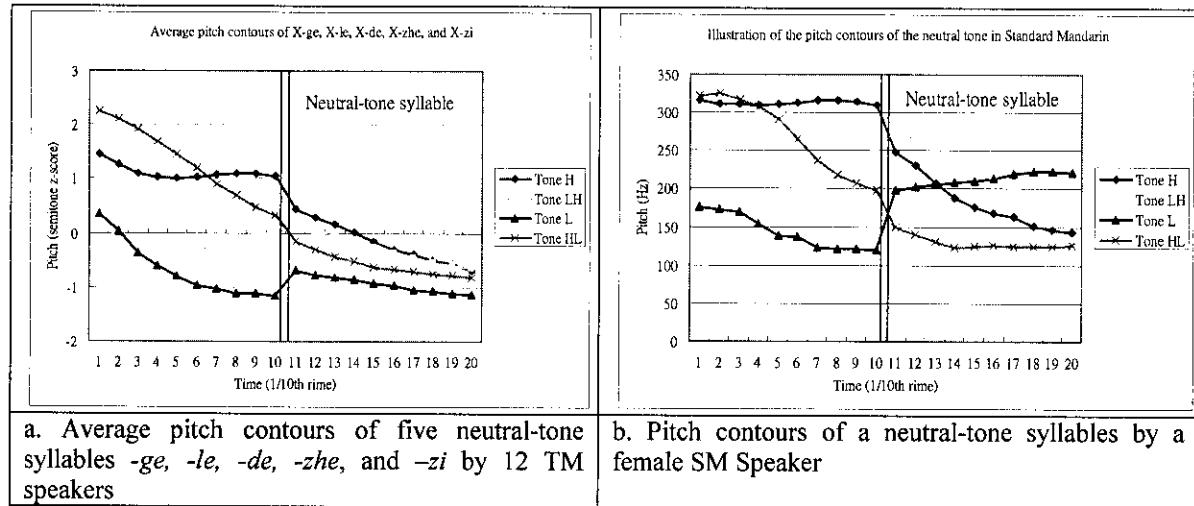
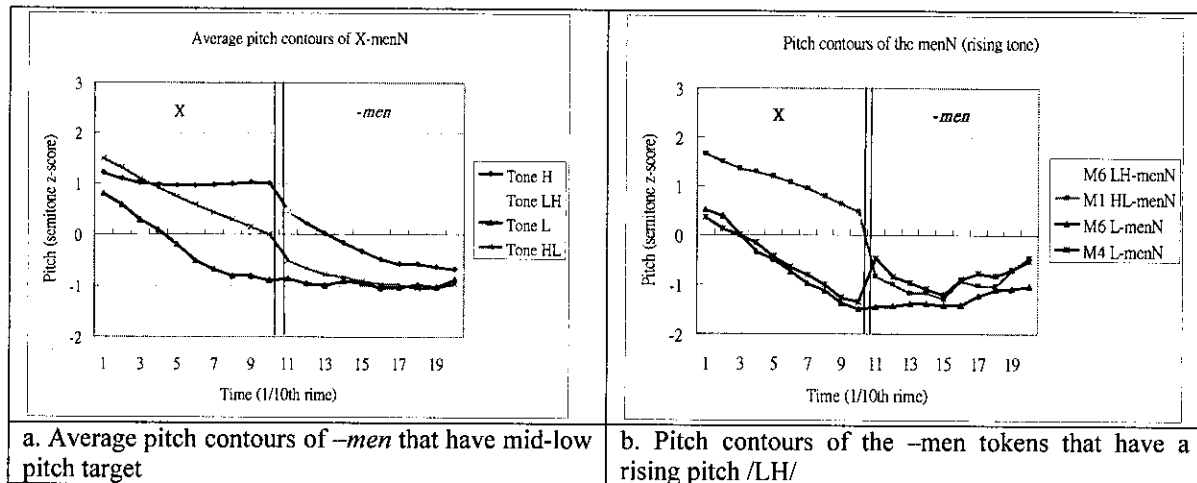


Figure 2: Pitch Contours of Disyllabic Neutral-tone Syllables

As shown in Figure 2a, the pitch of the neutral-tone syllables gradually merged toward a mid-low target, and the pitch of the neutral-tone syllables did not vary depending on the preceding lexical tone as in SM, which is illustrated in Figure 2b. The most obvious pitch difference between SM and TM was the neutral tone after /L/. The pitch contour was mid-level in SM, but it remained low after /L/ in TM. The neutral tone after /H/ shows a falling contour, which resembles the SM neutral tone. However, the /H/ syllable ended in a high pitch. It is also natural for the pitch to fall in order to reach to the low target. The neutral tones after /LH/ and /HL/ also show the same tendency, where their pitch gradually reached to the low target from the end of the previous syllables. The comparison between Figure 2a and 2b also shows that the rising tone /LH/ in TM did not rise as much as in SM. This difference conforms to what has been found by Fon and Chiang (1999).

Of the seven tested neutral-tone syllables, *-tou* did not behave like the five neutral-tone syllables discussed above. The neutral-tone *-tou* syllables had a pitch contour that resembles /LH/. This shows that in these occurrences, *-tou* 'diminutive suffix' is pronounced with the original lexical tone /LH/ 'head' as if it were a free morpheme. This shows that the TM speakers did not treat the syllable as unstressed (or having a neutral tone), so they simply produced the syllable with their knowledge of the character, which is /LH/.

The result of the neutral-tone *-men* shows speaker and lexical variations. Out of 4 (words with *-men* suffix) x 12 (speakers) = 48 production of *-men*, four instances of *-men* had the pitch contours that resemble the rising tone /LH/ (see Figure 3b). The rest of the *-men* instances had similar pitch patterns as other neutral-tone syllables as shown in Figure 3a. Those *-men* instances most likely had a rising pitch contour because the suffix *-men* /Ø/ [門] is written with a phonetic element of [門], which has a rising tone /LH/. This misinterpretation creates a variation that is not speaker or lexical item specific.

Figure 3: Pitch Contours of Disyllabic Neutral-tone Syllables with *-men* Suffixes

## 2.2. Neutral-tone Syllables in Novel Occurrences

Many of the words that contain a “prescriptive” neutral tone are high-frequency words/phrases such as *wo-de* 1.S-POSS ‘my,’ *mai-le* buy-PERF ‘have bought,’ and *wo-men* 1-PL ‘our.’ Therefore the pitch of the neutral tone might surface like a true neutral tone because of the high frequency input of certain phrases or words. For example, the pitch of *de* in *wo-de* might be high (which is a standard neutral tone realization) while I would expect it to be low in TM. However, it is very likely that the high pitch of *de* in TM is because this word-form *wo-de* is lexicalized as /L-H/ due to the high frequency input from SM speakers. The TM speakers do not really acquire the process of tone neutralization of SM. Therefore in order to show that the process of tone neutralization that applies in SM is not acquired by TM speakers, these prescriptively neutral-tone syllables in novel phrases/words must be tested.

### 2.2.1. Method

There are four tested neutral-tone suffixes that are still productive. They are perfective *le*, durative *zhe*, possessive *de*, and plural *men*. In this experiment, subjects were given an obsolete character with a made-up spelling and a made-up meaning, and they were asked to read a meaningful sentence with a tested suffix attached to this made-up character. The obsolete characters attached by the first two suffixes were made-up as verbs, and the obsolete characters attached by the last two suffixes were made-up as nouns. Each suffix was combined to four different verbs (or nouns) in four different sentences respectively. Therefore the subjects were asked to read 4 (tested suffixes) x 4 (preceding nouns or verbs in 4 lexical tones) = 16 sentences. Table 2 shows the four sentences used to elicit *-le* in novel occurrences.

Table 2: Materials of Creating *-le* in Novel Occurrences

suffix	obsolete characters	made-up sounds and meanings	given sentences
-le (-PERF)	叻	<i>xiu</i> /H/ ‘to eat’	<i>ta zuotian __le sanwan chaofan</i> ‘He __ three bowls of fried rice yesterday’
	嘬	<i>xiu</i> /LH/ ‘to drink’	<i>ta zuotian __le sanbei hongcha</i> ‘He __ three cups of black tea yesterday’
	晒	<i>xiu</i> /L/ ‘to read’	<i>ta zuotian __le sanben manhua</i> ‘He __ three comic books yesterday’
	啮	<i>xiu</i> /HL/ ‘to buy’	<i>ta zuotian __le sanzhi yashua</i> ‘He __ three toothbrush yesterday’

As illustrated in Table 2, for each suffix, the four verbs (or nouns), which were written in four different obsolete characters, have the same segments but different lexical tones in order to control the

consonant perturbation. Also, for each suffix, the four sentences have similar sentence structures with minor meaning differences so that the intonation will be the same for all four tested parts.

Subjects were the same as mentioned in 2.1.2. This experiment is one of the tasks they were asked to finish. The equipment and data analysis were the same as mentioned in 2.1.3 and 2.1.5. Subjects were given a made-up character and they were asked to read a meaningful sentence with the tested morpheme attached to this made-up character. For example, following the material shown in Table 2, 晒 (the obsolete character) was written on the front of the slip of paper. There were also *zuyin fuhao* phonetic symbols showing its pronunciation (*xiu* /ɕjou/ /L/), and the character 讀 *du* 'to read' written next to it showing the meaning of the character. The back of the paper showed a sentence 他昨天\_\_了三本漫畫 *ta zuotian \_\_\_\_ le sanben manhua* 'He \_\_ three comic books yesterday.' The subjects were first shown the front of the paper, and they were asked to put 晒 in the space and read the whole sentence in the back after they flip to the back of the slip.

There were 16 obsolete characters and 16 matching sentences. They were written on both sides of the 16 slips of paper. The subjects were given 16 pieces of paper one by one, with the front of the paper on top. The order of the papers was randomized.

### 2.2.2. Results

The subjects were asked to produce neutral-tone syllables in novel formations. Figure 4 shows the results from the 12 TM speakers. The chart shows the average pitch contours of the four productive suffixes with the four preceding lexical tones. The rime of the first syllable (varied made-up syllable) is shown on 1-10 on the x-axis, and the rime of the suffix is on 11-20. They are separated by a double line.

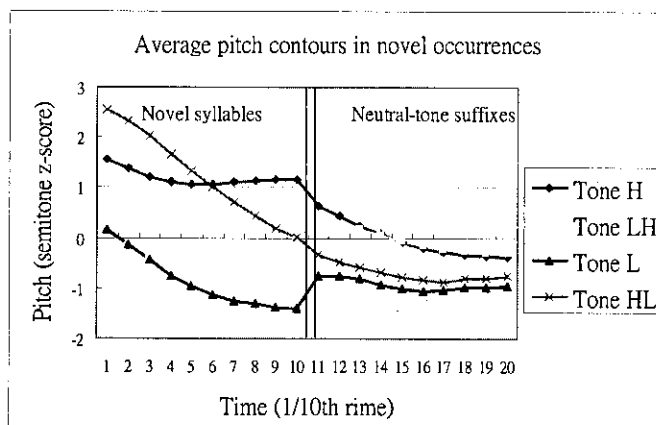


Figure 4: Result of Neutral-tone Syllables in Novel Occurrences

The result shows that the pitch of the neutral-tone suffixes gradually moved to the mid-low level (0~-1 semitone z-score). The influences from the preceding lexical tones were not very obvious, but generally the neutral tones after /H/ and /LH/ had slightly higher pitch ranges than the other neutral tones. The higher pitch end-point in the previous syllable seems to have a slight effect on the following neutral tone.

The result is what was expected. These neutral-tone syllables had mid-low targets. The influences of the preceding tones were minor. The overlapping pitch contours were very different from the neutral tones in Standard Mandarin.

### 2.3. Consecutive Neutral-tone Syllables

According to Chen and Xu (2006), the pitch of consecutive neutral-tone syllables in Standard Mandarin moves from the previous full tone toward a mid-target gradually. Since the neutral tone syllables in Taiwan Mandarin appear to have a target, I hypothesize that the consecutive neutral-tone syllables in TM will behave like consecutive full tones. Instead of gradually reaching to a mid-target as in Standard Mandarin, consecutive neutral-tone syllables in TM will each have their own target.

### 2.3.1. Method

Several prescriptive neutral-tone syllables (reduplication, nominalizer/ possessive *de*, plural marker *men*, durative marker *zhe*, and perfective marker *le*) were tested. These tested neutral-tone syllables were combined into four sets of consecutive neutral tone syllables (*-X-de* -reduplication-POSS.; *-X-men-de* -reduplication-PL-POSS.; *-zhe-de* -DUR.-NML.; *-le-de* -PERF.-NML.). These four sets had either two or three meaningful consecutive neutral-tone syllables. Each set of consecutive syllables was put into a meaningful sentence. Adopting Chen and Xu's (2006) methodology, in order to see the influences of the preceding lexical tone, I varied the lexical tone before the consecutive neutral tones. All four lexical tones were included. Also, in order to control for contextual influence, I varied the lexical tone following the consecutive neutral tones. Only /L/ and /HL/ were included because /L/ starts at the lowest pitch and /HL/ starts at the highest pitch. An example is given as followed.

#### (1) Example 1

		X	N <sub>2-3</sub>			Y		
<i>ta</i>	<i>shuo</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-men</i>	<i>-de</i>	<i>xiao</i>	<i>duo</i>	<i>le</i>
H	H	H	N	N	N	L	H	N
He	said	mom	-reduplication-	PL.	-POSS	small	more	ASP
'He said moms' are smaller.'								

As illustrated in Example 1, X (varies in 4 lexical tones) represents the syllables before the neutral-tone syllables, N represents the neutral-tone syllables (two or three), and Y (varies in 2 lexical tones) represents the syllable after the neutral-tone syllables. As a result, subjects read 4 (lexical tone of X) x 4 (sets of consecutive neutral-tone syllables) x 2 (Y) = 32 sentences.

The subjects were the same as mentioned in 2.1.2. This experiment is one of the tasks they were asked to finish. The equipment and data analysis were the same as mentioned in 2.1.3 and 2.1.5. The subjects were asked to read the 32 sentences written in Chinese characters. There was no practice section, but the subjects were encouraged to re-read the sentence if they felt they had made a mistake.

### 2.3.2. Results

The results are shown in Figure 5 and Figure 6 below. In the charts, rimes of the tested syllables were measured and graphed. There are double lines between the syllables to separate the syllables and to show that the initial consonants were not included in the graph. The first and the last syllables were the variables. The first syllables can be one of the four lexical tones in Mandarin (H, LH, L, HL), and the last syllable is either /HL/ or /L/. Each chart shows the average pitch of the 12 TM speakers. Each chart has 4 (lexical tone of the preceding X) x 2 (lexical tone of the following Y) = 8 pitch contours.

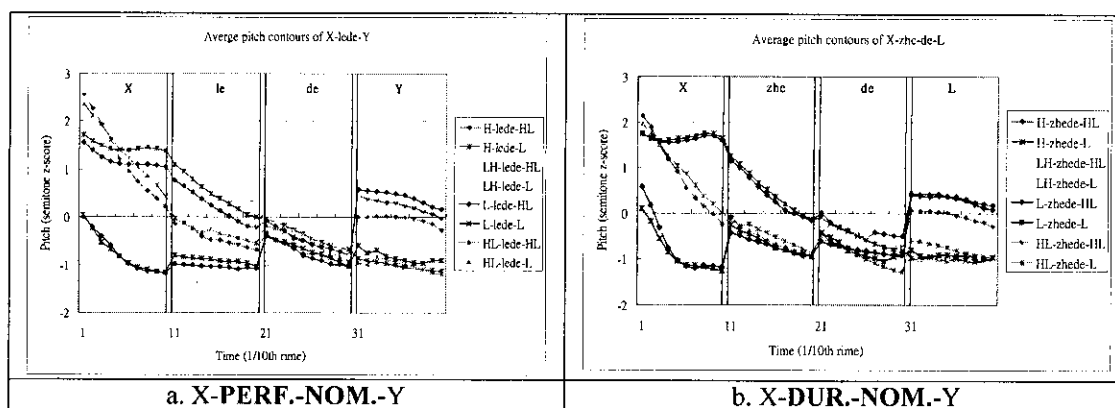


Figure 5: Results of Two Consecutive Neutral-tone Syllables (-PERF.-NOM. & -DUR.-NOM.)

Figure 5 shows the results of two consecutive neutral-tone syllables: -perfective-nominalizer (5a) and -durative-nominalizer (5b). As shown in both of the charts, the lexical tones of the following syllables (Y) did not seem to affect the pitch contours of the consecutive neutral tones. The same color pitch contours behaved similarly in the charts. On the other hand, the preceding lexical tones (X) seem to have minor effects on the consecutive neutral-tone syllables, especially the first neutral-tone syllable. The pitch contours of the first

neutral-tone syllables (*-le* and *-zhe*) lowered from the end pitch of the previous lexical tone to the mid-low range ( $-1 \sim 0$  z-score); the pitch contours of the second neutral-tone syllables (both *-de*) move from  $0 \sim 0.5$  z-score to  $-0.5 \sim -1$  z-score. Their pitch contours show that both of the neutral-tone syllables are falling to a mid-low pitch target. However, the preceding lexical tones have more effects on the first neutral-tone syllable, while the pitch of the second neutral-tone syllables are independent from the initial lexical tones.

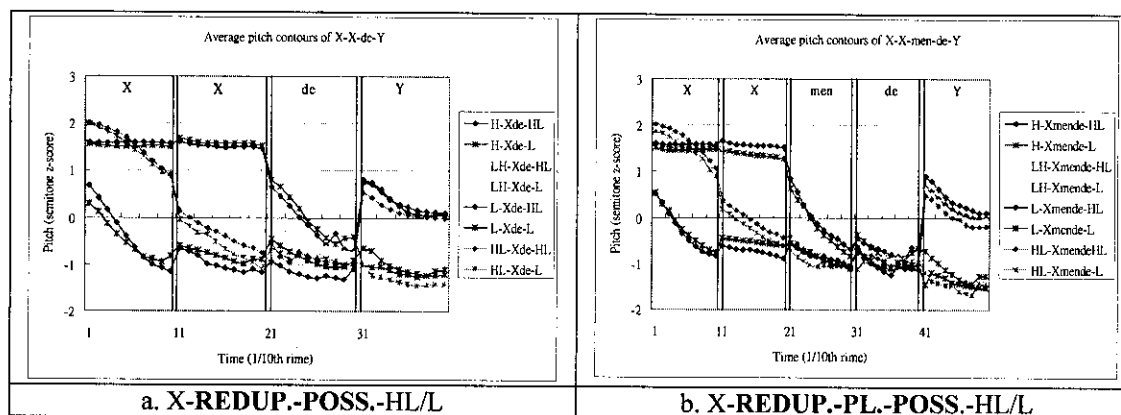


Figure 6: Results of Consecutive Neutral-tone syllables (*-REDUP.-POSS.* & *-REDUP.-PL.-POSS.*)

Figure 6 shows the results of the consecutive neutral-tone syllables: reduplicant-possessive (6a) and reduplicant-plural-possessive (6b). Similar to Figure 5, the following lexical tone (Y) did not seem to have any effects on the neutral tone, but the preceding lexical tone (X) affected the following neutral-tone syllables. However, unlike the charts in Figure 6, the first neutral-tone syllables (reduplicant) show different pitch patterns. The reduplicant was high after the initial /H/ (blue), falling after the initial /LH/ (red), and moving to mid-low after initial /L/ and /HL/ (yellow and green). The reduplicant seemed to have lexical tones /H/ and /HL/ after /H/ and /LH/ respectively. Only the reduplicant following /L/ and /HL/ shows similar pitch patterns with other neutral-tone syllables. The rest of the neutral-tone syllables (possessive in Figure 6a, plural and possessive in 6b) all moved their pitch to a mid-low target ( $-0.5 \sim -1$  z-score). And as the neutral-tone syllables were further away from the initial lexical tone (X), the pitch contours overlapped more such as *-de* in Figure 6b.

Based on the results shown in Figure 5 and Figure 6, we can see that the consecutive neutral tones did not slowly reach for a mid-target like Standard Mandarin as shown in Figure 1. Instead, each neutral tone is reaching toward its own low target except for some reduplicants. The reduplicants of /H/ seem to be /H/ and the reduplicants of /LH/ seem to have a falling tone /HL/. The rest of the neutral tone syllables had low or mid-low targets. However, unlike a syllable with a low tone, the pitch contours of these neutral-tone syllables reached to the low target more slowly, and the target pitch was less exact.

### 3.0. CONCLUSION

The results of the three experiments show that the neutral tone in Taiwan Mandarin does not exhibit the same pitch contours as in Standard Mandarin. The neutral tones in disyllabic words/phrases, novel occurrences, and consecutive occurrences all seem to show similar patterns. Although the pitch of the neutral-tone syllables does seem to be slightly influenced by the preceding tones, it does not depend on the preceding tones. This can be demonstrated by the consecutive neutral-tone experiment. The neutral-tone syllables that did not immediately follow the lexical tone were independent from the preceding lexical tones. The consecutive neutral tone shows that these neutral-tone syllables do have a target. Unlike a true lexical tone, the influence from the preceding lexical tone needs some time to be overcome. This is probably due to the fact that these neutral-tone syllables were rather short, and the pitch target does not have enough time to implement.

The results do show that some neutral-tone syllables have fixed tonal patterns. As can be seen in the disyllabic-word experiment, the neutral tone *-tou* was /LH/ and some instances of *-men* were also /LH/. These

examples show that TM speakers would produce a lexical tone when the original tone is obvious. When the original tone is not obvious, they would even find a candidate from other cues (e.g., writing). The reason why other neutral-tone syllables such as *-zhe*, *-de*, *-le* do not have a lexical tone representation is simply because they do not have an obvious original tone. The consecutive neutral-tone experiment also shows that some reduplicants seem to have lexical tones. *Ma-ma* is /H-H/, and *po-po* is /LH-HL/. This is not surprising since reduplication is no longer a productive process, and most of the reduplications for nicknames have fixed tonal rules.

As for the identity of the neutral-tone syllables, the results suggest that the neutral-tone syllables do not really have a neutral tone. That is, these syllables are really toneless. A neutral-tone syllable is toneless because it has lost its underlying tone and its pitch is influenced by the preceding syllable (Duanmu, 2007). However, our results show that these neutral-tone syllables do have their own identity. The neutral tone in TM is therefore better described as the fifth tone, which can be characterized as having a mid-low pitch target with a weaker articulate strength.

## NOTES

1. The Praat script was originally written by Mietta Lennes, and later edited by Diana Stojanovic, Victoria Anderson, and Kaori Ueki.

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# **"MASCULINE" NO: JAPANESE MEN'S USE OF THE SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLE NO**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The sentence-final particle *no*, occurring without copulas such as *desu* or *da*, is frequently reported as symbolizing feminine speech in research on Japanese women's language. However, Japanese men on television today can be seen frequently using supposedly feminine *no* constructions. The study presented in this paper examines the frequency and meanings attributed to the use of *no* constructions stereotypically associated with feminine speech in a conversation between three men on a recent Japanese television program, and finds that the men demonstrate frequent usage of these constructions to index a range of pragmatic meanings other than femininity.

## **1.0. INTRODUCTION**

In research on Japanese women's language, the sentence-final particle *no*, occurring without copulas such as *desu* or *da*, is frequently cited as symbolizing feminine speech (Ide, 1979, 1991; Jorden, 1974; McGloin, 1986, 1991; Mizutani & Mizutani, 1977). Furthermore, it is claimed in some of these studies that men use the *no* particle without a copula in questions, if at all, and only rarely in declarative statements (McGloin, 1986, 1991; Mizutani & Mizutani, 1977). However, through my own personal interactions and through observation of Japanese television shows, I have observed frequent usage of non-copula constructions featuring the *no* particle by men. To my knowledge, no in-depth research has yet been presented on the use of these supposedly feminine *no* constructions in Japanese men's speech. Therefore, the study presented in this paper will seek to address this issue by examining the frequency and meanings attributed to the use of *no* constructions associated with feminine speech in a conversation between three Japanese men broadcast on a recent television program.

## **2.0. BACKGROUND**

In the Japanese language, there are a number of particles which occur at the end of sentences, and which indicate a range of metapragmatic meanings defining how those sentences should be interpreted. Uyeno (1971) lists among these potential meanings "who the speaker is, i.e., his social status and sex, who the addressee is, i.e., his social status, what the relative social status and relationship of the speaker and addressee are, and how the speaker intends to convey a message" (p. 50). The most commonly used of these sentence-final particles are *wa*, *no*, *ne*, *yo*, *zo*, and *ze*; these six particles are frequently divided into categories through association with gendered speech, with *wa* and *no* attributed to feminine speech, *zo* and *ze* attributed to masculine speech, and *ne* and *yo* as neutral and used by both genders (Ide, 1979; McGloin, 1986, 1991; Shibamoto, 1985).

The sentence-final particle *no* functions linguistically as a nominalizer, and a construction containing it that occurs at the end of a sentence is referred to as an "extended predicate," consisting of the predicate ending of the initial sentence plus a predicate containing the nominal *no* or contracted *n* and a copula or lack thereof. The study in this paper focuses on this sentence-final particle, and of the five basic variations in which it occurs most frequently, *no desu*, *no da*, *n desu*, *n da*, and *no*, it will concentrate on the variation in which *no* occurs in non-contracted form without a copula. It is this variation of *no* that is most strongly associated with feminine speech, and which is considered the most unusual and "marked" when found in men's speech. In order to demonstrate why this is the case, it is first necessary to explain the differences between these five variations, the various theories on the meaning of *no*, and the linguistic characteristics associated with women's speech.

### **2.1. Differences in the Five Basic Variations of No**

The sentence-final particle *no* and its contraction *n* occur in a variety of structural forms. As seen in Table 1, there are five basic variations in which they appear: *no desu*, *n desu*, *no da*, *n da*, and *no*. It is important to note, however, that these are *stylistic* differences rather than semantic differences: Within all of these variations, *no/n* carries the same meaning, and the use or non-use of contraction in conjunction with either *desu*, *da*, or no copula is what accounts for the stylistic differences between these forms.

Table 1: Variations of the sentence-final particle *no*

<i>No</i>	Copula
<i>no</i>	<i>desu</i>
<i>n(o)</i>	<i>desu</i>
<i>no</i>	<i>da</i>
<i>n(o)</i>	<i>da</i>
<i>no</i>	$\emptyset$

*No desu* is the most formal of the five variations, used in circumstances where an extra level of politeness is required or in formalized speech. While *n desu* is the contracted version of *no desu*, it is used much more frequently in everyday conversation, and does not carry the same level of formality.

*No da* is used most commonly in formal academic writing, and in some cases of formalized speech. *N da* occurs more commonly in spoken communication, and carries an emphatic, blunt inflection that has caused it to be associated with Japanese men's speech.

*No*, unlike the other four variations, lacks a copula (*desu*, *da*); because of this, it gives the sentence it is attached to a nominal ending rather than the verbal ending created by the use of a copula. Cook (2008) argues that nominal endings have weaker pragmatic force than verbal endings, citing discussions by Brown & Levinson (1987) and Maynard (1997) on nouns and nominalized expressions as being more removed and distant than verbs. Cook claims that this weaker pragmatic force causes *no* to be interpreted as a softening particle, and therefore is one of the reasons that it is generally classified as a feminine particle. This will be discussed in further detail in Section 2.3.2.

## 2.2. Overview of Theories on the Sentence-Final Particle *No*

A fair number of studies have been conducted on *no*, and as a result numerous theories have been laid out as to its meaning. One common theory is that *no* indexes an explanatory meaning. Alfonso (1966) states that the presence of *no desu* "indicates some EXPLANATION, either of what was said or done, or will be said or done, and as such always suggests some context or situation [capitalization original]" (p. 405). A certain knowledge is presupposed in the speaker's utterance. Alfonso also discusses *no desu* as adding emphasis or an admonitory tone to a sentence, and mentions the frequent use of *no desu* and *no* alone in statements addressed towards children.

Similarly, Kuno (1973) discusses *no* as indicating that an utterance "gives some explanation for what the speaker has said or done or the state he is in" or "asks for the hearer's explanation of what the speaker has heard or observed" (p. 232). Kuno emphasizes the relation of the usage of *no* with the shared context between the speaker and addressee: "In the immediate environment in which the speaker has made some observation, questions about the observation without using the *no desu* construction are often out of place" (p. 233). In a similar vein, Aoki (1986) proposes that *no* is an evidentiality marker and implies the factuality of an utterance. *No*, or its contraction, *n*, "converts a statement for which ordinarily no direct knowledge is possible into a statement which is asserted as a fact" (p. 230).

Kuno's article also hints at *no* as marking "shared information," which is explored in further depth by others (Kamio, 1979; Kuroda, 1973; McGloin, 1980; Mizutani & Mizutani, 1977; Noda, 1981). Mizutani and Mizutani (1977) demonstrate this view on the particle's meaning in discussion of *no desu* and *n desu*. The use of *no* "presupposes a certain situation" (p. 100). An example is given contrasting *atsuku narimashita ne* as stating a fact while *atsuku natta n desu ne*, which uses the contracted *n*, implies that the speaker has noticed something that has prompted the utterance, such as a person dressed in summer clothes or drinking a cool beverage. It is because of this assumption of shared information, they point out, that *no desu* and *n desu* can take on emotional timbre such as concern, surprise, irritation, criticism, and so on, based on the context in which it is used.

Noda (1981) argues for a similar theory, claiming that *no* marks a presupposition by the speaker and recognizes the existence of shared or shareable information between the speaker and hearer. The speaker's statement involving *no* is based on information which the listener is already aware of, through prior mention,



common knowledge, or direct observation, or on information which the listener can become aware of upon hearing what the speaker is going to say. Furthermore, as claimed by Mizutani and Mizutani (1977), Noda argues that the contextual implications of recognizing information as shared between the speaker and listener are what lead to emotional connotations of *no*, such as an increased sense of intimacy between the speaker and listener or a sense of admonishment towards the addressee for having ignored or forgotten something they should know.

McGloin (1980, 1986, 1991) discusses the usage of *no desu* in terms of shared knowledge as well, distinguishing two factors common to its usage: (a) "*no desu* indicates a certain knowledge: [I]t marks a certain information as known or at least assumed to be known either to a speaker or a listener, or both"; and (b) "*no desu* expresses the speaker's various subjective judgments" (1980, p. 144). The speaker can use *no desu* to emphasize a statement, or draw attention to contrast such as when expressing a contrary opinion, or persuade or simply impose his statement on the addressee. McGloin (1980, 1986, 1991) also looks at the association of *no* with politeness, pointing out that *no desu* often serves the function of giving background information, which leads it to have an implication of indirectness. The reduced directness of feelings or directives expressed in the utterance give it a politer sound than the more direct expression that does not use *no desu*. On the other hand, McGloin argues, *no* also creates a sense of rapport through the sharing of knowledge between the speaker and hearer, and this sense of rapport functions as a "positive politeness strategy," citing Brown & Levinson (1987). McGloin relates this sense of rapport with the association of sentence-final *no* as a feminine particle; this will be discussed in greater detail in Section 2.3.2.

Cook (1990), in response to this variety of theories on *no*, proposes a common factor among them in the indexing of "group authority." She draws the distinction between the use and non-use of *no* (the latter referred to as a "bare verbal") through the accessibility of knowledge, stating that "a psychological state is inaccessible knowledge and is expressed with a bare verbal form, while common and shared knowledge is accessible and is expressed with *no*" (p. 419). Taking the distinction a step further, "bare verbal forms index that the authority for an utterance lies with the speaker alone, and that the use of *no* indexes that the authority for an utterance lies with a group of which the speaker is a member" (p. 420). Cook theorizes that the explanatory and factual meanings that *no* is associated with derive from the assumption that the utterance is "authorized" and accepted by (or at least imposed on) everyone in a group to be true. Thus, an explanation by the speaker presents the information as if it was already known by the group, which can further index a variety of implications and emotion overtones in a statement. This explanation encompasses the shared information theory of *no* as well, as the speaker chooses to share the authority of the knowledge expressed with the group, rather than claim the sole responsibility for it as an individual.

More recent studies by Yoshimi (2001) and Iwai (2010) focus on the use of the *n desu* construction in small talk, and propose that it functions "to help speaker maintain a conversational tone in his/her talk" (Yoshimi, 2001, p. 9) and "indexes shared understanding of the context/situation, creating a sense of solidarity with the interlocutor" which leads to a "conversational and friendly tone" (Iwai, 2010, p. 106). Although these proposals focus on only one *no* construction, they share elements in common with both the shared information and group authority theories, and may potentially relate to the meaning associated with *no* in general through these similar ties.

## 2.3. *No* and Feminine Speech

### 2.3.1. Overview of Japanese Feminine Speech

A vast number and variety of studies have been conducted on the notion of women's language in Japanese, and a set of common aspects in which women's speech is differentiated from men's speech has arisen from these studies, including pronouns and address terms (Ide, 1979; Jorden, 1974; Peng, 1981; Shibamoto, 1985), sentence-ending particles (Ide, 1979, 1991; Kitagawa, 1977; McGloin 1980, 1986, 1991; Peng, 1981), pitch range and intonations (Chikamatsu, 1979; Mashimo, 1969), frequency of honorific style usage (Ide, 1991; Mashimo, 1969; Nomoto, 1978), avoidance of Sino-Japanese terms (Mashimo, 1969; Nomoto, 1978), and avoidance of vulgar language (Ide, 1991; Jorden, 1974).

Ide (1979) writes that society generally expects men to be in the main role and women to be in the supporting role, pointing out observations of how the character "女" ("woman") is added to the titles of high-ranking job positions to indicate a female of that position, but nothing needs to be added to indicate a male, and

how newspapers frequently cite the name and job position of the husband of a woman talked about in an article, even if he has nothing to do with the subject. Based on survey results, Ide (1986, 1991) finds that Japanese women consistently assess linguistic forms at lower levels of politeness than men, and claims that politeness is one of the features of women's speech that makes it sound feminine.

Shibamoto (1985) criticizes the majority of previous studies of Japanese women's language as approaching the topic with the assumption of the subordinate position of women, and furthermore notes that most of these studies are based on introspection and anecdotal observations rather than evidence from actual data. She lists descriptive characterizations of women's language found in studies unsupported by linguistic evidence: "Modern linguists . . . characterize Japanese women's language as verbose, repetitive, conservative, concrete, trivial, soft and emotional, polite, pure, and syntactically loose" (p. 30). Inoue (2006) sums up the majority of scholarly research on women's language in Japanese as contributing to the understanding of it as "a set of linguistic forms and functions of language exclusively or statistically used by women and very often associated with certain feminine demeanors, roles, and attributes, such as being soft-spoken, polite, hesitant, empathetic, gentle, and nonassertive" (p. 2). These varied and sometimes contradicting descriptions create a not uncomplicated portrayal of the expectations associated with feminine speech, and remind us that even though concrete linguistic differences have been found between the speeches of men and women, the interpretation of these differences may vary or even disagree from one researcher to the next. The discussion of *no* in relation to gendered speech, as I shall discuss in the next section, has been subject to controversy and disagreement between a number of studies.

### 2.3.2. *No* as Feminine Speech

Ide (1979), in discussion of the differences between men's and women's speech, lists the sentence-final particles *ze*, *zo*, and *yo* not prefaced by a softening particle as being restricted to men, and *wa*, *no*, and *yo* prefaced by either of the former as being restricted to women. While young male children may use *no*, she notes, their usage of it decreases as they get older. Ide describes *no* as creating a sense of flexibility and *kawairashisa* (cuteness or sweetness), and a slightly childlike sound. Therefore, the particle functions to soften speech, and when used in conjunction with *yo*, reduces the emphatic force of the statement. Ide claims that this has the effect of sounding polite and not pushing one's opinion on the listener, and that the restriction of the usage of a particle that creates this effect to feminine speech serves to reinforce the subservient, supporting role expected of women.

McGloin (1986, 1991), as discussed in Section 2.2., proposes a positive politeness function of *no* due to it "establishing rapport with the hearer" (1986, p. 17) through the recognition of knowledge as shared between a speaker and hearer. This function, she claims, leads to the association of *no* as a sentence ending with feminine speech: "Women pay more attention to the hearer's desire to be liked, to be positively regarded. Women seek to establish and/or maintain more conversational rapport with the hearer. *No* serves this function by creating an atmosphere of shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer" (pp. 17-18). While it is possible for either sex to use *no* in a question, McGloin notes, *no* at the end of a declarative sentence occurs far more commonly among women than men, and "men would never use *no* after polite endings" (p. 14).

Similarly, Mizutani and Mizutani (1977) also claim that sentences ending in *no* are generally considered feminine or childish in tone, and are considered exclusively feminine when used with polite forms. Sreetharan (2004), while pointing out the stereotypical nature of her categorizations and possible changes occurring in language use, classifies *no* with rising intonation at the end of a question as neutral and other usages as moderate to strongly feminine.

As discussed in Section 2.0., Cook (2008) argues that nominal endings carry weaker pragmatic force than verbal endings. She states that "the soft effect of the particle *no* derives from the fact that *no* is a type of nominal" (p. 387), and proposes that it is this pragmatic meaning that gives *no* its connotation with women's language through the stereotypical image of softness attributed to women by society. Furthermore, Cook (1990) explains McGloin's (1980, 1986, 1991) theories of the politeness and femininity of *no* as deriving from the indirectness of expressing oneself as part of a group as opposed to as an individual, and also from the added indirectness resulting from the categorization of *no* as a noun ending in comparison to the more direct verb ending. According to Cook (1990), the rapport McGloin writes about therefore "derives from the group

authority which subordinates the individual desire and intention to those of the group” (p. 433), which leads to the association of *no* with the stereotypical subservient image expected of women by society.

While the above studies discuss the femininity of *no* and its use by women, to my knowledge no studies have focused in depth on the use of *no* by men. Having personally observed frequent use of the non-contracted non-copula construction of *no* by men on a variety of Japanese television shows, I have conducted this study in order to show that Japanese men do indeed use supposedly feminine constructions of *no*, and to investigate whether its usage is marked as feminine in men’s conversations. In my study, I will examine a recent Japanese television show to explore the frequency of usage of the particle by men and the meanings these uses mark based on the context in which they are spoken.

### 3.0. DATA

The data used in this study comes from an episode of the television show *Nakai no Kakezan* (Fuji TV) that aired in January, 2011. The show is a yearly special which airs around the New Year, and is approximately 90 minutes long including commercial breaks. The premise of the show is for the host, Nakai (age 38), and two guests to sit around a table on a small studio set and hold a conversation. No conversation prompts are given, and although it is difficult to judge accurately due to the editing of the footage, the filming staff (e.g., director, cameramen, assistants) appear to interfere as little as possible, simply allowing the host and guests to converse.

In this particular episode of the show, the guests, Joshima (age 40) and Sakamoto (age 39), are people whom Nakai has known since his teenage years. All of them are leaders of different music groups under a single management company, Johnny’s Jimusho, and have known each other since they first auditioned into the company in the mid-1980’s. In addition, Nakai and Joshima appear to have shared a company dorm room for some time in their teenage years. Thus, all three participants are quite familiar with each other’s personalities and past experiences, and indeed readily draw on these familiar topics to draw out discussion with each other.

Table 2: Information of Conversation Participants in ‘Nakai no Kakezan’

Speaker	Age	Role(s)
Nakai (N)	38	Host of show; leader and oldest member of music group SMAP; <i>kohai</i> <sup>1</sup> to Joshima and Sakamoto
Joshima (J)	40	Guest; leader and oldest member of music group Tokio; <i>sempai</i> <sup>1</sup> to Nakai and Sakamoto
Sakamoto (S)	39	Guest; leader and oldest member of music group V6; <i>sempai</i> to Nakai, <i>kohai</i> to Joshima

#### 3.1. Quantitative Analysis

For the quantitative analysis of this data, I examine the frequency of usage of non-contracted, non-copula *no* in four combinations: *no*+? (rising intonation), *no*+ $\emptyset$  (no suffix), *no*+*yo*, and *no*+*ne* (Section 3.1.1.). Furthermore, as it has been claimed by studies such as McGloin (1986, 1991) and Sreetharan (2004) that *no* may be used by either sex as an interrogative but is considered feminine in declarative statements, I make a distinction between interrogative and declarative use of *no*, and categorize the occurrences in my data by the pragmatic meaning associated with *no* in each context (Section 3.1.2.). While it is informative to keep in mind that Cook’s (1990, 2008) framework attributes all instances of *no* as first indexing group authority, it is more instructive here to look at the subsequent meanings derived from the various contexts in which the instances of *no* were used. These meanings can be broadly divided between “interrogative,” “statement of fact” (as in Aoki, 1986), and “reference to shared information” (as in McGloin, 1986; Mizutani & Mizutani, 1977; Noda, 1981).

Finally, I also examine the frequency of each category of usage by speaker to observe if the roles of the different speakers, particularly those of host and guest, have an effect on the use of *no* (Section 3.1.3.).

### 3.1.1. Frequency of *No* Constructions

Four constructions using the non-contracted *no* without a copula were observed in the data: *no+?* (rising intonation), *no+∅* (no suffix), *no+yo*, and *no+ne*. Other constructions featuring *n(o) desu* and *n(o) da* were also observed in the data, but are not enumerated here as they are not the focus of this study.

Table 3: Frequency and Percent of *No* Constructions

<i>No</i>	Suffix	Frequency	Percent
no	?	18	50.00
no	∅	5	13.89
no	yo (ne)	11	30.56
no	ne	2	5.55
Total		36	100.00

As seen in Table 3, 36 total uses of non-contracted, non-copula *no* occurred in the conversation, with 18 instances of *no+?* (50.00%), five instances of *no* with no suffix (13.89%), 11 instances of *no yo* (30.56%), and two instances of *no ne* (5.56%). While the high proportion (50%) of *no+?* is attributable to the neutral classification of this construction as suggested by McGloin (1986, 1991) and Sreetharan (2004), the remaining 50% of occurrences of *no* are forms that have been generally agreed upon as feminine in classification. Although this study looks at a single conversation between a small number of subjects, there is evidence here that constructions of *no* supposedly restricted to women also occur in men's speech with a fairly high frequency.

### 3.2. Qualitative Analysis

Quantitative analysis reveals that the men in this study use constructions of *no* associated strongly with feminine speech in half of their uses of non-contracted non-copula *no*, leading to an almost even distribution of interrogative and declarative uses. In the qualitative analysis of this data, I will look at examples of individual instances of the two types of declarative *no* and examine how these instances create their respective pragmatic meanings based on conversational context. I find that none of the instances of *no* constructions associated with feminine speech appear to be intended or interpreted by the participants as evoking femininity; the pragmatic meanings are instead based around *no* as marking the factuality or shared aspect of the information being stated.

While the declarative instances of *no* are the main focus of these examples, instances of interrogative *no* and other *n(o) desu/n(o) da* constructions frequently play an integral part in the discourse surrounding the declarative *no*, and it is necessary and informative to analyze these occurrences as well. Thus, these uses will be explained in detail alongside the instances of declarative *no*.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) 1→ 8:28 J: ichiban osoi n chau no? debyuu ((interrogative))  
 2 8:30 S: ichiban osoi ne  
 3 8:31 J: soo ya ne/ sore made boku yatta n ya  
 4 8:34 S: soo soo soo soo  
 5 8:35 J: nijyuusansai to nankagetsu de  
 6→ 8:36 S: ore ga debyuu ga kimatte/ ichiban yorokonda no wa/ jimusho no hitotachi na no  
 ((factual))  
 7 8:41 J: @  
 8 8:41 N: @  
 9 8:44 N: oya da to ka/ kyoudai da to ka/ ja nakute  
 10 8:48 S: jimusho no hito ga sugoi yorokonde kurete
- 1 J: Didn't you take the longest? To debut  
 2 S: I took the longest  
 3 J: That's right. Up until then it was me  
 4 S: Right right right right  
 5 J: Twenty-three and some months  
 6 S: When my debut was decided, the ones who were the happiest for me were the people in the company  
 7 J: ((laugh))

- 8 N: ((laugh))  
 9 N: Not your parents, or your siblings  
 10 S: The people in the company were really happy for me

In line 1, Joshima asks Sakamoto if he took the longest to debut. This is information which, through their long acquaintance, both he and Sakamoto know; therefore, Joshima uses *no* to phrase the question as a request for confirmation of this knowledge. Sakamoto confirms the factuality of the information in line 2. Joshima elaborates on this topic in line 3, referring to the fact that he himself had originally taken the longest to debut before Sakamoto using *n*; given Sakamoto's confirmative reaction in line 4, this also is shared knowledge between them. Then, further elaborating on the topic, Sakamoto states in line 6 that the people in the management company (*jimusho* refers to Johnny's Jimusho, the company managing all of their respective groups) were the happiest for him to debut, using a declarative *no* ending. Sakamoto presents this information in a cleft sentence, revealing the information in the final part of the sentence, and separates the first two phrases of the sentence with two short pauses (/) which function to build suspense until the information is finally revealed. Given how the information is dramatically revealed in this way, Sakamoto is clearly presenting new factual information rather than referring to information that is already shared. Nakai's and Joshima's reactions of laughter and surprise in 7-12 further demonstrate that this information is new to them. The occurrence of declarative *no* in line 6 therefore indexes the factuality of Sakamoto's statement; he is presenting new information, and insisting, perhaps because of the surprising nature of this information, that it is true.

- (2) 1 15:45 N: e ja suki na uta aru? tokio no uta de suki na uta  
 2 15:48 S: kore waku kana minasan/ shinguru ja nai to omou n de ne  
 3 15:52 J: nn:  
 4 15:53 N: aa: ore wa arubamu wa  
 5 15:56 S: ma arubamu wa ne  
 6→ 15:57 N: sasuga ni shiranai wa:/ nani suki na **no?** ((interrogative))  
 7→ 16:01 S: jambo to iu kyoku daisuki na **no yo** ((factual))  
 8 16:02 J: aa arubamu  
 9 16:03 S: sugoi moriagaru n da
- 1 N: So is there a song you like? A song you like out of Tokio's songs  
 2 S: I wonder if everyone will know it. I don't think it's a single  
 3 J: Hmm  
 4 N: Ahh the albums  
 5 S: Albums, right  
 6 N: As expected, I don't know them. What do you like?  
 7 S: I love the song called Jumbo  
 8 J: Ahh album  
 9 S: It really gets me excited

In line 1, Nakai asks Sakamoto if there are any songs he likes out of Tokio's (Joshima's group's) repertoire, and Sakamoto prefaces his answer in line 2 by expressing doubt that the viewing audience will know the song and explaining, using *n*, that he does not think that it is a single (which would be more commonly known). Nakai responds by stating that he himself is not familiar with the songs on Tokio's albums, and in line 6 follows up on Sakamoto's prefacing statements by asking him what the song he likes is. Here, he uses interrogative *no*, in reference to the information Sakamoto hints at in line 2 that there is indeed a song he likes. Sakamoto then responds in line 7 by stating that he likes the song "Jumbo," using the construction *no yo*. This information is clearly new to Nakai and Joshima, so Sakamoto is not referring to an already shared understanding but rather is presenting a factual statement. *Yo* adds an emphatic inflection to *no*, which further shows that the sentence is a statement of personal opinion. Sakamoto subsequently gives an explanation for his preference in line 9, using *n* to present more factual information in stating that the song gets him excited.

- (3) 1 32:47 J: jitsu wa/ hyaku nana jyu aru n deshoo  
 2 32:49 N: @  
 3 32:52 N: aa:  
 4 32:53 J: ima purofiiru doo shiteru?

- 5 32:54 N: e?  
 6 32:55 J: purofiiru  
 7 32:56 N: roku jyu go no manma  
 8 32:57 S: @  
 9 32:57 J: @  
 10→ 33:01 J: jyu roku no toki kara mo sono kyarakutaa tsukutte-n **no yo** ((factual))  
 11 33:04 S: @iyarashii ne:@  
 12 33:05 J: sore sugoi to omowanai?  
 13→ 33:05 N: iya iya ja ja ja iu yo ((stands)) ja iu yo ore no ore no shinchou hyaku nana jyu aru  
**no ne** ((rising intonation)) ((shared information))  
 14 33:10 J: un  
 15→ 33:11 S: honto ni aru **no?** a-n **no?** ((interrogative))  
 16 33:11 N: hyaku nana jyu:  
 17→ 33:11 J: soo aru **no yo/** aru **no yo** ((factual))  
 18 33:15 J: a-n no ni  
 19→ 33:17 N: demo purofiiru wa hyaku roku jyu go ni shiteru **no yo** ((factual))  
 20 33:17 S: @  
 21 33:18 N: dakara ore wa/ hon|hontou naraba/ kaa: kore no gyaku gyaku wakarizure!  
 22 33:27 J: ma ma ma ma: dakara  
 23→ 33:28 N: hyaku nana jyu aru n dakedo/ hyaku roku jyu go ga omoshiroi no ka atta **no yo**  
**((factual))**  
 24 33:33 J: un un un wakaruu wakaruu
- 1 J: You're actually 170 [centimeters] aren't you  
 2 N: ((laugh))  
 3 N: Ahh:  
 4 J: What's on your profile now?  
 5 N: Huh?  
 6 J: Your profile  
 7 N: Exactly 165  
 8 S: ((laugh))  
 9 J: ((laugh))  
 10 J: He's been building that character since he was sixteen  
 11 S: ((laughing)) Devious, huh  
 12 J: Don't you think that's amazing?  
 13 N: No no okay okay okay I'll say it ((stands)) I'll say it. My height is 170, right  
 14 J: Yeah  
 15 S: Is it really? Really?  
 16 N: 170  
 17 J: Right, it is, it is  
 18 J: Despite that  
 19 N: But I keep my profile at 165  
 20 S: ((laugh))  
 21 N: That's why I, to tell the truth, ah: it's the opposite of the opposite, hard to understand!  
 22 J: Well well well well: that's why  
 23 N: I'm 170, but there was the idea that 165 was more interesting  
 24 J: Right right right I see I see

Example 4 contains several uses of declarative *no* over a short period of time. Previous to line 1, Joshima has been describing an encounter from when he and Nakai shared an apartment, in which Nakai had told him that he was taller than the height he pretended to be. Based on this encounter, Joshima accuses Nakai of actually being 170 cm tall in line 1, and his use of *n* in this line marks this as shared information between them. Nakai does not immediately confirm, instead answering Joshima's subsequent question about what height is written in his official profile, but Joshima appears to take his laughter and embarrassed reaction as implicit confirmation, and in line 10 tells Sakamoto that Nakai has been creating his "character" (the personality he is known for on television) since he was sixteen. In this statement, he uses *no yo* while presenting information that

is not familiar to Sakamoto, using *no* to claim the factuality of the information. As seen in line 7 of Example 2, the use of *yo* adds emphasis to the statement, and the combined effect here is that Joshima is insisting on the truth of the information he is presenting, possibly due to the surprising nature of this information.

In reaction to Sakamoto and Joshima's discussion of him in lines 11 and 12, Nakai speaks up (and stands up) to explain, prefacing his explanation in line 13 by stating that he has a height of 170 cm. The use of *no ne* in this statement and a rising intonation on *ne* mark this occurrence of *no* as referring to shared information rather than insisting on the factuality of this information. Joshima confirms this information in line 14, but Sakamoto questions it in line 15, using interrogative *no* twice to request confirmation of the information's factuality. Joshima then responds to him in line 17, using *no yo* twice to emphatically confirm that the information is true. Nakai continues his explanation in line 18 by stating that he keeps the height written in his profile at 165 cm, using *no yo* to insist upon the factuality of this statement. Although he has already mentioned in line 7 that the height on his profile is 165 cm, his statement in line 18 reveals the new information that this is *deliberate*. Thus, the use of *no* here can be interpreted as marking the factuality of the information presented rather than referring to shared information.

Finally, in line 21, Nakai attempts to continue his explanation, but cuts off with an exclamation of how difficult it is to explain clearly. He picks up again in line 23, once again prefacing his explanation by repeating that he is actually 170 cm; as this is now shared information among all three of them, he uses *n* to refer to it in this prefacing statement. Nakai then states his reasoning behind pretending to be 165 cm, using *no yo* to emphasize the factuality of the information he is presenting.

#### 4.0. CONCLUSIONS

In examining the quantitative and qualitative analyses above, there are two major points that can be made based on the results: (a) the men in this study use non-contracted non-copula *no* constructions with strongly feminine associations approximately as frequently as those with neutral gender associations; and (b) the use of *no* constructions with strongly feminine associations by the men in this study is not interpreted in the context of the conversation as marking femininity, but rather as marking a range of pragmatic meanings.

Based on the research existing on these constructions of *no* and the lack of any studies on usage by men, it may be possible to view the usage found in this study as a potential indicator of growing acceptability of stereotypically feminine particles in men's speech, and perhaps even as an indicator of change in the boundaries of gendered speech. The consistent interpretation of supposedly feminine *no* constructions as not evoking femininity but rather pragmatic meanings of factuality or shared knowledge based on the surrounding discourse context provides evidence that these constructions are indeed viewed as acceptable in men's speech—if, at the very least, by the men holding the conversation and the staff producing the television show. However, the small sample size of the data examined (and, to a certain extent, the filmed and public nature of a televised conversation and its participants) limits the ability to generalize these results to a larger population. Further research using a larger and broader sample size is necessary to determine whether these uses of stereotypically feminine *no* constructions are in fact widespread or are isolated, sporadic occurrences. Furthermore, data on the usage of *no* constructions by men in previous decades are necessary to more accurately judge the acceptability and changes in said acceptability of stereotypically feminine *no* constructions in men's speech. Such a study could then predict more accurately whether the usage of stereotypically feminine *no* constructions in men's speech today truly indicates change taking place in the boundaries of Japanese gendered speech.

#### NOTES

1. *Sempai/Kouhai* – Roughly, "senior" and "junior." These terms are used in a variety of social settings, from upper- and lower-classmen in school to employees in a company. Generally, anyone who is older and/or has been doing something longer than another is that person's *sempai*, while the younger and/or less experienced is the *kouhai*. The relationship between the *sempai* and *kouhai* traditionally requires the *kouhai* to speak to the *sempai* using honorifics, which the *sempai* is not required to reciprocate. However, the amount of honorific usage may change depending on the closeness of the pair.

2. The following symbols are used in the transcripts provided:
- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| /     | very short pause within a speaker's turn, less than 1.0 second |
|       | indicates self-correction                                      |
| :     | indicates the sound which precedes it is drawn-out             |
| @     | laughter, laughing tone when placed on both sides of speech    |
| (( )) | indicates author comment                                       |

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# LANGUAGE SHIFT: A CASE STUDY OF A FAMILY SPANNING “3.5 GENERATIONS”

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## ABSTRACT

In this paper, I aim to uncover the sociolinguistics of heritage language maintenance and loss by looking at the theories and models expounded on by Joshua A. Fishman and applying them to my own family's language use. Moreover, I will focus on why loss tends to happen with the third generation by illustrating how these models apply to my family's shift in the use of spoken Spanish. I am able to report on this based on my own observations, through natural conversations, and from transcripts of planned interviews.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

“Spanish in the United States cannot survive if limited to only a private-family function. It is the social and community use of Spanish in society that seems to have the most effect in Spanish ability.” (García & Cuevas, 1995, p.190)

“The main linguistic outcomes of the prolonged contact of ethnic groups within a modern nation-state are language maintenance, bilingualism, or language shift” (Paulston, 2003, p. 404). *Language shift* is the eventual loss of one language for the (typically monolingual) use of another (Paulston, 2003). I imagine there are a lot of unsuspecting people arriving in the United States all the time that do not know that their unborn grandchildren are predicted to be monolingual in a language not their own. I bet they would be motivated to seek ways to ensure their heritage languages (HL), cultures, and family wisdoms were passed on to future generations if they were made aware of this probability. I have personal motivation driving this research because I was fortunate to have been raised with more than one language and feel obligated to share this fortune with as many people who want the treasure of multilingualism. As someone who has been called a heritage language speaker, a bilingual, a second generation American (2GA), Hispanic, Spanish, Latina, and Cuban, I can say that of all of these “labels,” I most identify with the word “Spanish.” But I do not identify with the adjective, I identify with the noun—the one that refers to the language. For me to pass on languages as a teacher, a friend, or maybe a mother, I feel I should start at home. This paper, therefore, aims to uncover the sociolinguistics of heritage language maintenance and loss by looking at the theories and models expounded on by Joshua A. Fishman. Moreover, I will focus on why loss tends to happen with the third generation by illustrating how these models apply to my own family's shift in the use of spoken Spanish. I am able to report on this based on my own observations, through natural conversations and from transcripts of planned interviews.

First, I will provide some remarkable terms and concepts that, in the context of language shift, are important for a clear understanding of the future of heritage languages. Within the terminology, I will introduce Fishman's theories and models. I will then introduce my family as a case study to illustrate language shift in the making, highlighting where we fit into his models neatly, where there is a disconnect between what is actually happening in our spoken Spanish, and the reasons for both what fits the models and what does not. I will spell out the implications of intergenerational language loss and then finally, I hope to provide some solutions to reverse language shift, not only for my own family, but also for the future generations of the people who are arriving daily in new countries. Transcripts from interviews and quotes from questionnaires conducted with members of my immediate and extended family will also demonstrate some of these phenomena.

## 2.0. TERMS, CONCEPTS, & MODELS

As I have been bilingual since I can remember speaking, I define a bilingual person very simply as someone who speaks two languages. In order to understand some of the intricacies of language shift, it is necessary to outline who speaks what language(s) and where. Defining the meaning of bilingual is important when comparing it to the situation called *diglossia* by Ferguson (1959). He explains it as a situation in which two languages (or two varieties of the same language) are used under different conditions within a community, often by the same speakers (p. 329). Fishman (1989) refers to it as “societal bilingualism” (p. 183). Diglossia is

a term that applies to languages with distinct "high" (H) and "low" (L) colloquial varieties (Ferguson, 1959, p. 327). In essence, every language has its own "place"—its own context and its own domain. One might speak Hebrew in temple as the high language, but English, possibly spoken in more places (e.g., home, school, work) and used more frequently, might be considered the low language. Depending on the language and the circumstance, what some consider high and low will vary, as will the contexts in which the languages are spoken. It is important to understand that "both bilingualism and diglossia are continuous variables, matters of degree rather than all-or-none phenomena, even when compartmentalization obtains" (Fishman, 1989, p. 185).

As one might surmise, *compartmentalization* in terms of language use refers to a place—the compartment, the domain, the situation, the context—where the language is spoken (Fishman, 1989). The language that is compartmentalized in the home, at one's place of worship, at school, or at work—whatever place it might be—means, by definition, that if it is compartmentalized, it typically does not coincide with other languages.

In looking for a concise definition of the term, I found that there is no such thing—there is *no* consensus on the definition of 1.5GA. The *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online* defines 1.5 generation American as "people born in the U.S. whose parents originally came from a foreign country and have not learnt to speak English properly. Generation 1.5 children are able to speak English well, but talk in the language spoken by their parents when they're at home." In the case of my family this is not true, unless by "properly," the dictionary means "no accent." My father and his sisters speak English perfectly, though the two older ones clearly have Cuban accents and the youngest one, much less so. On another site, a student defines 1.5 generation Korean as such:

The 1.5 generation denotes the group of Korean immigrants who came to America during early or middle adolescence but were born and first raised in Korea. . . . The formal term of 1.5 generation refers to the group of Korean immigrants who came into this country during early or middle adolescence and is bicultural and bilingual but I shall include any immigrant who came here before middle adolescence and Korean was their first language. With this definition I can include children from age 3-10, whose first language and culture was Korean but were not yet adolescents upon the emigration. (Chung, 1997, para. 3)

As we can see with the examples of definitions, the term is contentious. For the purposes of this paper, I will refer to the 1.5 generation as the generation that arrived in the U.S. before adulthood, and who first became bilingual in their heritage language and English. This generation sees the beginnings of the shift: My father and his sisters only spoke Spanish when they arrived in the U.S. They now speak English as much as, and for one of them, more than, Spanish. They are bilingual.

As mentioned before, one of the labels given to me is 2GA. I do not identify with this label. If there is a generation I identify with, it is the 1GA. As my sister, Beatriz, put it, "I am first generation American because I am the first generation in my bloodline to be born in America." Until doing research for this paper, I have always identified as my sister does: with being 1GA. For the sake of this paper, however, I will concede and make my generation the 2GA, and their offspring the third generation American (3GA). I think Fishman (1999) adequately sums up my sentiment: "We must grant that if human beings define categories, whether for themselves or for others, as real, then they are real in their consequence" (p. 447).

There is one more point I would like to make about these generations. Though we see that the youngest generation is labeled as 3GA, it is in fact the fourth generation, not the third, hence my title, "3.5 generations." We will see how and why this fourth generation does not fit in (neatly) with Fishman's (1991) models.

According to the director of The UCLA Center for World Languages and director of the National Heritage Language Resource Center, a heritage language speaker "is someone who grows up with a certain family language in the home which is different from the dominant language in the country" (Kane, 2008, "OK: A heritage speaker," para. 2). By definition then, in my family's case, this makes our heritage language Spanish.

### 2.1. Models, Resolutions & Scales

Joshua A. Fishman has been writing about sociolinguistics so prolifically and for so long that there is a term named after him: *Fishmanian Sociolinguistics*. Some of his contributions to the field of sociolinguistics that are relevant to this study are his model of language shift, his typology of resolutions and a scale that was intended for language maintenance: Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS; Fishman, 1991, p.87). Briefly, his language shift model is what predicts that by the third generation, the heritage language is either mostly lost or completely lost. According to Fishman (1991), the first generation speaks only the heritage language. The next generation incorporates the second language into daily use and becomes bilingual. The third generation shifts from the first generation's HL, to the second generation's second language as a monolingual.

Fishman (1989) proposes three resolutions. I will only focus on the first and third resolutions, as the second resolution is basically the reverse of the first, but does not apply to this study. The first resolution shows how the heritage language is taken over by the majority language. This resolution is based on the premise that to get on in the society, one must learn the laws, which are written in the majority language. Rewards are made to the speakers of the majority language from within the HL group in the form of status recognition attained through education and monetary rewards (e.g., well paying jobs for speakers of the majority language). The speakers of the HL who also speak the majority language are considered the *hallmarks of leadership* (Fishman, 1991, p. 362) within their HL community and here the language begins to shift. These second generations are socialized in the majority language, they practice their religion in the majority language, they are educated in the majority language with other speakers of this language, and they share outlooks with them. They have children who are also socialized and even more so, in the majority language. So much so that they wind up viewing their HL as old-fashioned and in the end cease to be productive in their HL. Here is where language shift is complete. There is "insufficient boundary maintenance" of the two languages for both to survive (Fishman, 1991, p. 362). Because the majority language is stronger with "clear and assured societal functions" (Fishman, 1989, p. 397), the heritage language shifts to the majority language.

In the third resolution, both languages survive. This brings us back to Ferguson's (1959) diglossia, where each language has its own place. According to Fishman (1991), this can only be successful if the languages are compartmentalized. As mentioned above, he proposed a theory about language maintenance called the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). There are eight stages. Here I will only focus on the sixth one: "the intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighborhood: the basis of mother tongue transmission" (Fishman, 1991, p. 466). This sixth stage is the focus of the rest of this paper.

The main point Fishman (1991) is trying to make in this stage is that the only way that a language can reverse its language shift from the HL to the majority language is if the language is taught at home, first and foremost. It must be compartmentalized. A language cannot pretend to survive in a family if the exposure the younger generations receive is limited to foreign language classes in school. One must make opportunities to teach their children about their heritage language and culture. Once that is established then opportunities in the community can make a longer lasting impression.

It would seem from the quote in the introduction of this paper that García and Cuevas (1995) are contradicting what Fishman (1991) proposes in stage 6: "Spanish in the United States cannot survive if limited to only a private-family function. It is the social and community use of Spanish in society that seems to have the most effect in Spanish ability" (García & Cuevas, 1995, p. 190). In fact, this supports Fishman's (1991) point: First family and then with that knowledge, the newer generations are able to socialize within their communities in order to propagate the language.

### 3.0. FAMILY CASE STUDY

I will provide a bit of background about my paternal family and its provenance and then hone in on specific members of this side of my family to make some illustrations on the topics framed thus far.

My grandfather was military police in Cuba, under Fulgencio Batista. When Castro came into power, my grandfather was arrested and my grandmother had to figure out a way to provide a better life for her children. My father's mother, Abuela Nara, arrived in the United States in 1961 after my father's father, Abuelo Che, became a political prisoner in Cuba. From Santiago de Cuba, she wound up in Newark, New Jersey

holding down three jobs working as a seamstress to save money to send for her children, who were left in Cuba with her parents. After five years, on February 23, 1966, my father (13 years old at the time) and his two sisters, Tamara, the eldest (who was 14 at the time) and Myra, the youngest of the three siblings, (who was nine at the time), arrived in the U.S., saw snow for the first time, met their new stepfather (who they had never even heard of) and started attending an American school just a few days later.

As previously defined, because my grandmother was the first person to arrive in the U.S., she is considered 1GA and because my father and his sisters arrived before adulthood, they are considered 1.5GA. Once my father and his sisters were married, they produced the 2GA—the generation that my sisters, cousins and I are classified under. The next generation—the ones born to my generation—is considered the 3GA. It is they who, according to the models, will not speak our heritage language. This is, in fact, actually the case.

Let's go back to the 1.5GA. My dad and my aunts were exposed to English as soon as they arrived in New Jersey. And even though they quickly made friends, there were still a few language barriers. My father remembers his first day of school and his introduction to Carlos Cruz, a Cuban boy who had already been in the U.S. several years. Carlos was to interpret the teacher's sentence so my father could understand what she was saying. What Carlos "translated" was, "...dice que pongas el *coat* en el *closet*." The key words ("coat" and "closet") were code switched into English. Herein began the socializing in two languages. (My father and Carlos Cruz are still friends to this day.)

Tamara, in our telephone interview, talks about the pressure she felt from her new teachers to speak English only. "They wanted us to communicate . . . they didn't want us to be 'hablando en español' [speaking in Spanish]." She explained what her ESL classes were like: "They wanted us to communicate solely in English at all times, but that was not possible because we did not command the language with the same ease that I was able to express myself in Spanish." She also got pressure from the other children who "felt left out or offended" when she spoke Spanish in school with her Spanish-speaking classmates: "The majority [of children] who expressed it, didn't do it nicely." She was no longer being rewarded for her use of Spanish. Again, here were some of the first seeds of language shift being planted.

Myra, as the youngest sibling had an easier transition from Spanish into English. In fact, she became dominant in English and continues to be so. All of her friends now are English-speaking—she socializes in English and lives out her daily life in English, except of course, when she is talking to her mother. You will notice in Appendix A, the family language chart of who speaks what language to whom. Abuela Nara is the only person in the family (a 1GA-er) who consistently speaks and is spoken to in Spanish. Looking more closely at Myra's language, it is remarkable that though she was born in Cuba and is considered a 1.5GA, she only uses her HL with her mother, and in any other instance that she uses Spanish, it comes second to English.

It is widely acknowledged that it is the youngest sibling in the 1.5 or 2GA who becomes English dominant, as a rule (C. Higgins, personal communication, March 19, 2011). This is often because they speak English at school, with peers and therefore with each other. When I asked Myra in an email interview and questionnaire which language she spoke to her siblings, her response was, "If and when I speak with your dad or Tamara, for me it flows out in English. I can say that Spanglish does take over sometimes." According to Dr. Christina Higgins, "the older siblings are more likely to communicate more with the parents and to act as interpreters even for various needs (e.g., teacher conferences, doctor visits)" (personal communication, March 19, 2011). This is true as well, in the case of Tamara, the eldest of the three siblings, who confirmed during a phone interview that she has always played the role of interpreter for Abuela Nara whenever she went to the doctor or had any governmental issues she needed taken care of.

The 1.5GA all married 1GA and 1.5GA as well. My father married a Spaniard (1GA) and so did his older sister, Tamara (actually, a Basque, to be exact). Myra, the youngest of the 1.5GA siblings, married a Portuguese man, another 1.5GA. My father and Tamara both spoke Spanish to their spouses and in turn provided ample input for their children to acquire Spanish as our first language. Myra, on the other hand, spoke English to her husband, Joe. Because of their parents' language choice at home, the twins, Jason and Melissa, did not develop the fluency in Spanish that the rest of us did when we were all still quite young. For Jason and Melissa, the Spanish they spoke was occasionally with my mother, who only spoke Spanish to them and to Abuela, who was only *able* to speak Spanish to them.

In my interview questionnaire with Myra (Appendix B), she told me about her language choices with her (ex)husband, her children, her granddaughters (3GA), and her siblings. As Fishman's (1991) models predict, the third generation has lost the language. In Myra's case, it was four generations and mostly because she was the very young 1.5GA. Both of her children married Italian-Americans who are monolingual English speakers. Their children (Isabella, age 12.5 and Sophia, age 8 months) are only exposed to English on a regular basis. They are third generation Americans who cannot speak to their great-grandmother in Spanish! Isabella, the 12.5 year old, is neither receptive nor productive in Spanish; she goes to school in English and socializes in English.

I believe that had my grandmother thought about the possibility of language loss and had someone explained how to keep the language alive in the family, the great-grandchildren of my family would be able to speak their HL. Through no fault of her own, Myra's case is one of several perfect illustrations of the beginnings of language loss in my family.

I would like to make another point that backs Fishman's (1991) GIDS stage 6, my mother (1GA, born in Spain, arrived in the U.S. at age 26) *made* my sisters and me speak Spanish. She and my father spoke Spanish at home and they rarely socialized with non-Spanish-speaking people. My sisters and I grew up with Spanish-speaking adults around us, with their children as friends (though we certainly spoke English to each other). We visited my grandparents in Spain almost every summer until I was a tween. My middle sister and I even made our communion in Spain with the same priest that married my parents. We socialized, practiced religion, were constantly exposed to Spanish and were always expected to speak it. Our neighborhood (Newark, NJ) was predominately Spanish-speaking! As can be noted in the family chart, my sisters and I, though not much more, are more productive in Spanish than my cousins are. This is certainly due to my mother compartmentalizing our use of Spanish, ensuring we had ample opportunities to practice and had fun while doing it.

#### 4.0. IMPLICATIONS & SOLUTIONS

Using my family as an illustration, I have demonstrated that Fishman's (1991) models, resolutions and scales fit my family almost perfectly when it comes to spoken Spanish. "Despite the general translatability from one language to another, there will always be an incommensurable residue of untranslatable culture associated with the linguistic structures of any given Language" (Kramsch, 1998, p. 14). This quote highlights the importance of passing on our languages, not just for the linguistics of it, but also for the culture. I think about Isabella, my 12.5-year-old cousin who does not speak her HL. She is so far-removed from her culture because she does not even have her HL to translate and therefore any residue she has of culture is likely unbeknownst to her!

People lose their languages because they do not speak them at home; that is a fact. To maintain one's HL, we must take pains to ensure that the generations are learning our HLs and the cultures and that the family wisdoms are passed down to and understood by the next generations (see Appendix C for ideas to help encourage the HL use at home).

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## Appendix A: Family Language Chart

Family Member	Abuela	Tizana	Javier	Izzy	Tammy	Andrew	Aidan	Chico	Angeles	Mónica	Beatriz	Padro	Rosana	Myra	Joe	Melissa	John	Isabella	Jason	Lee Ann	Sophia
Abuela		S	S	S	S	.		S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	E	E	S	.	S
Tamara	S		S	E	E	E	SE	S	S	SE	E	ES	E	ES	S	E	E	E	E	E	SE
Javier	S	S		SE	SE	E		S	S	SE	SE	SE	SE	SE	S	E	E	E	E	E	
Izaskun	S	ES	ES		E	E	E	ES	SE	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
Tamarita	S	ES	ES	E		E	ES	ES	SE	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
Andrew	.	E	E	E	E		E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	.	E	E	E	E	E	E
Aidan	.	/	.	/	/	/															
Chico	S	S	S	E	E	E			S	ES	ES	ES	ES	ES	ES	ES	E	E	E	E	S
Angeles	S	S	S	ES	ES	E		S		SE	SE	SE	SE	SE	S	SE	E	ES	SE	E	S
Mónica	S	ES	ES	E	E	E		ES	SE		E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	ES
Beatriz	S	ES	ES	E	E	E		ES	SE	E		ES	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
Padro	S	ES	ES	E	E	E		ES	ES	E	E		E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
Rosana	S	ES	ES	E	E	E		ES	ES	E	E	E		E	E	E	E	E	E	E	ES
Myra	S	ES	ES	E	E	E		ES	ES	E	E	E	E		E	E	E	E	E	E	ES
Joe	S/P	ES/P	E	E	E	E		S/P	S/P	E	E	E	E	E		E	E	E	E	E	E
Melissa	S	E	E	E	E	E		E	ES	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
John	.	E	E	E	E	E		E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E		E	E	E	
Isabella	.	E	E	E	E	E		E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E		E	E	E
Jason	S	E	E	E	E	E		E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E		E	E
LeeAnn	.	E	E	E	E	E		E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E		E
Sophia	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/

Reading the chart:

The column on the left is who is doing the speaking.

The row across the top is who is being spoken to.

Key to Languages spoken:

S: Spanish only

E: English only

SE: More Spanish than English

ES: More English than Spanish

S/P: Spanish/Portuguese mix

/: does not yet speak

.: do not speak a common language

blank: have never (or not yet) met

Key to the generations:

Bold: 1GA

Italics: 1.5GA

Underlined: 2GA

**Bold, Italics & Underlined: 3GA**

Regular style: Not born of recent immigrant

parents or grandparents



**Appendix B: Email interview questionnaire**

- 1a. Did you and Joe talk to each other about how you'd deal with English and Spanish and Portuguese when you were pregnant?  
"Joe and I talked about it prior to the babies being born. We knew that Joe's parents would be communicating with them in Portuguese, and that Abuela and Abuelo would communicate with them in Spanish."
- 1b. after J&M were born?
- 1c. At all?
- 1d. What language did you speak to the babies?
- 1e. When was English introduced into the house?  
"I spoke English with the babies first, then every once in a while I would teach them Spanish, and it was soooo funny."
- 1f. What language(s) did you and Joe speak to each other?  
"Joe and I spoke English in the house mostly."
2. Are there any significant details that stand out to you about how J&M started learning English and/or Spanish?  
"I remember them coming home from a birthday party that someone celebrated on Joe's side of the family and of course I had asked if they had a nice time, and they answered me in Portuguese. LOL!"
- 3a. Did either or both of them speak any English when they started pre-school?
- 3b. If so, which one, and to what degree?  
"Even though they spoke English when they started pre-school, Melissa and Jason had their own language from birth, which I found extremely interesting..."
- 3d. What kinds of conversations did you have with their teachers about their English and/or Spanish-speaking abilities?  
"I recall one of their teachers telling me that one of them (don't recall which one) needed speech therapy..."
- 4a. Did you read any books or get advice from anyone about how to make them multilingual?  
"I didn't receive any advice to read books to help them with multilingualism."
- 4b. Was that a consideration of yours?
5. When did you start speaking to them in English?
- 6a. Do you ever speak Spanish to them now?
- 6b. More English or Spanish?
- 6c. In what situations?  
"I speak with them in Spanish every once in awhile now, but English is more prominent in our conversations."
7. What language did you use when you speak to Sophia?  
"My beautiful Sophia and Isabella, I speak with them in English. Every once in awhile I say things to Isabella in Spanish, and she understands, soooo cute."
8. What language do you speak when you speak to my father and to Tamara? Is this consistent?  
"If and when I speak with your dad or Tamara, for me it flows out in English. Can say that Spanglish does take over sometimes."

**Appendix C: List of ideas for encouraging HL use at home and in the community**

- Allow access to the internet only in your target language
- Enroll the children in sports played in the heritage language, coached by HL speakers
- If you practice religion, attend services in your HL
- Be sure to socialize with HL speaking adults, and speak to them in your HL in front of the children
- Read to the children in the HL
- Use bilingual books
- Make HL play dates for your children
- Eat at HL restaurants and encourage your children to order in the HL
- Play games in the HL
- Have fun in the HL—by encouraging them to enjoy themselves in the HL, they will feel more compelled to want to use the language and not consider it the *old fashioned* language!

### III. Literature and Writing Pedagogy



# FROM CONSUMPTION TO COMMUNITY IN THE BEGINNING WRITING CLASSROOM

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## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Her name is Mary. She is 96 years old and lives in the Peaceful Oaks Nursing Faculty in my hometown. Serving with the Women's Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs) during WWI, Mary learned to fly a plane, and she traveled around the United States with an extremely powerful and adventurous group of women who preferred travel and freedom to the life of marriage and children that was standard for women at this time. Mary has a magnificent story to tell. But this story is often left to gather dust upon a shelf, as no one ever cares to come and listen. I was able to hear Mary's rich life story as I visited the Peaceful Oaks Home once a month with my younger sister, as part of a self-prescribed goal to augment all of my classroom writing and thinking with actual real-life practice—not just writing about social change and “giving back” but actually living it out. My experience at Peaceful Oaks changed the way I came to approach my worldview and my writing as Mary's voice, and the voices of all the others who filled the Home, were now ever-present every time I put pen to paper. I was inspired to make these valuable but often unheard or ignored voices an integral part of both my works of academic writing (research and critical writing assignments) and creative writing. And as my experiences at Peaceful Oaks began to reshape the way that I viewed the world, my actions in it, and my writing, I also began to wonder why this invaluable connection between actual social practice and writing was so often dismembered or neglected altogether in the beginning college writing classroom.

Instead of connecting writing with positive and meaningful social action, the beginning writing classroom often ends up following a model like the one prescribed below:

By now all this talk about airy academic research may seem disconnected from a world in which so many people labor so hard at getting ahead or keeping others down. But in business and government, in law and medicine, in politics and international diplomacy, no skill is valued more highly than the ability to recognize a problem, then to articulate it in a way that convinces others both to care about it and to believe it can be solved, especially by you. (Booth, Colomb, and Williams 65)

This passage taken from the popular 2008 beginning composition handbook, *The Craft of Research*, may appear quite harmless at first glance. In fact, some may argue that its statement positively encourages students to see writing as something meaningful and productive, rather than overly abstract or airy. Nonetheless, although this passage may appear to pragmatically ground the act of writing, it also, more significantly, points to a serious trend that currently defines the beginning composition classroom. That is, it points to a trend toward individualization and commoditization rather than social action and community collaboration and engagement in the writing process. How did this disconnect between writing and its capacity for producing social change and building communities take place? Furthermore, how can this disconnect be remedied?

Within this paper, I argue for a beginning composition classroom in which writing is coupled with pragmatic social action and active classroom exchange (i.e., a social learning classroom model). Based upon contemporary research articulating the positive learning outcomes of connecting community interaction, social action, and the writing process, I assert that the beginning composition classroom should not be regarded solely as a place of isolated writing instruction. More importantly, the beginning composition classroom can serve as a site for developing the critical voices and actions of students, shaping them into community builders and a future generation of academics whose papers are both products of the brain, and the works of the “hands of heart” as well (Friere 81).

## 2.0. WRITING & DOING

The practice of uniting writing with actual real-life practices is not, in and of itself, a new or even unorthodox phenomenon. In early 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century mechanics institutes in Great Britain, literacy was taught to many working-class males in order to equip them for reading and writing in their various areas of business (e.g. reading legal documents, keeping business records, etc.; Ferreira-Buckley and Horner). Furthermore, in many universities today, a field of study known as “community literacy” or “social learning” has emerged in

many higher-education classrooms, primarily in sciences, the social sciences, and second language learning. However, what makes my approach a bit more "unorthodox" is its clear connection between the emergent discourse of "community service learning" and the beginning composition classroom. In the following sections, I will provide a brief definition of the key terms "community" and "community service learning"; I will illustrate the importance of practice and community service in fostering critical learning and writing development in the beginning composition classroom; and finally, I will provide my own classroom as a model for how a community service learning approach can be implemented into the freshman composition writing course.

### 3.0. "COMMUNITY" & "COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING"

In our postmodern climate that tends to argue for no absolutes and no standards upon which a group of people can or should unify, the concept of "community" at first appears to be an out-dated, perhaps even, irrelevant term. However, I argue that this is far from the case. Although difficult to define, Peck, Flower, and Higgins categorize "communities" in the postmodern age as groups that are "constructed though boundaries" and delineated according to specific political, economical, social, and literary modes of discourse (200). Thus, communities are formulated around differences that define both exclusion and inclusion within a particular group. On the one hand, these differences can foster discrimination and exclusion, which, ultimately, results in communities that Joan Lipsitz calls "violent battlegrounds" (2). This can be seen in the metaphor of the "contact zone" that is used to describe the writing classroom where differences are used to produce disruption and violent conflict. However, difference can also serve as a powerful means of instruction and development. Respectfully listening to and learning from different perspectives and outlooks and viewpoints is an essential part of establishing relationships and partnerships with multiple others, and also developing a more refined view of the self. Jacqueline Jones Royster refers to this dialogue through difference as talking "across boundaries *with others*" (38; emphasis original). Thus, the very ability to establish and thrive with unity among others rests upon a communal commitment to creating partnerships across boundaries of difference.

Ultimately then, the concept of community, in spite of all the differences that surround it, must be built upon a foundation of an "ethic of caring" (Rhoads 2). This ethic of caring involves a mutual selflessness and compassion that allows various individuals to work together in the very midst of differences to accomplish positive social change. Furthermore, I would also argue that not only does this ethic of caring foster collaboration amidst differences, but it also enables students to learn from differences to such an extent that they develop a much more critical and thoughtful approach to their own action and perspectives. Students not only develop a greater sense of moral compassion and concern through an ethic of caring but also "the knowledge and skills necessary to take thoughtful and concerted political action to bring about social change" (Strand et al. 134).

Upon this central ethic of caring, community service learning is foundationally built. Community service learning is specifically a combination of service learning and a concern with community literacy. In its application to the writing classroom, service learning has been adjusted slightly as it has taken on the form of what Jeffery Grabill calls, "community literacy" (200). Community literacy is a mode of composition instruction that yokes "literate acts" with "community action" (200). More specifically, writing is directly linked to promoting community building and development outside the classroom. One prominent example of this community literacy is Ellen Cushman's work with the Georgia State University Writing Program and an inner-city student population in the Atlanta area (Cushman, *The Struggle and the Tools*). In the writing instruction that she offered to her inner-city students, Cushman utilized actual instances of practical literacy, such as resumé writing and filling out housing applications, as the texts and assignments for her class. Thus, acts of reading and writing critically were tied directly to furthering students' positions within their surrounding economic community.

Combining both service learning, which involves a formal grade, and community literacy which places most emphasis upon building communities and fostering social change through modes of discourse, Robert Rhoads utilizes the term "community service learning" (163). Rhoads defines community service learning as a classroom approach that utilizes community service action projects<sup>1</sup> to foster a reciprocal partnership (an interaction) between members of the community and students (165). Through these projects, students would, ultimately, receive a grade in a course, but more importantly they would utilize writing and hands-on activities

as well, to meet specific needs of community organization. Thus, community service learning builds communities and fosters positive social action through modes of discourse and through practice.

#### 4.0. COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING & WRITING DEVELOPMENT

Taking Rhoads' concept of community service learning as a starting point, I argue that not only is community service learning a vital means of accomplishing positive social change and building students' ethics of care and compassion (all important accomplishments to be sure), even more significantly it is an essential component of developing student writing. Actual social action forms the final link in a continual cycle of learning that involves thinking, speaking, writing, and finally, doing. A cycle that M. Jacqui Alexander describes as follows in *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred*:

Vision can only be as effective and as sturdy as our determination to practice. . . . It is the daily practice that will bring about the necessary shifts in perception that make change possible. Vision helps us to remember why we do the work. Practice is the how, it makes the change and grounds the work. (279)

Thus, it is through a continual cycle of formulating a vision or perspective of the world and, I argue, questioning and refining that vision through dialogue with others and through writing, and then, finally, performing actual actions based upon this vision, that learning and actual social change takes place. Ian Shor puts it this way: "Reflection without action has a hollow ring to it" (207).

#### 5.0. IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING INTO THE EARLY COMPOSITION CLASSROOM

As there has been relatively little to no writing that has proposed how to actually implement community service learning into the freshman composition classroom (Cushman's classroom model serving as one of the few exceptions<sup>2</sup>), I utilize my own beginning composition classroom as a model. In my classroom, I structure each writing assignment around an actual social action project. In choosing their social action tasks, students can select from an extensive list of on-campus and community activities that is available online through the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Service Learning website. This website has compiled an up-to-date directory through which on-campus and community organizations post current service needs and opportunities. However, if I was teaching on a campus that did not provide such a concrete and accessible resource for service learning information, I would simply modify my classroom approach. Specific modifications would include working one-on-one with a few specific community organizations (an organization such as the nursing home facility mentioned at the beginning of this essay, for example) that were contacted before the beginning of the semester, thereby, setting up a clearly defined working relationship with them in advance. Another modification would be limiting the list of resources that students could choose from, from on-campus resources—such as the Health Center, the various clubs on campus, and even departmental organizations. Both of these modifications would inevitably narrow students' choices, however, they would be necessary for ensuring that the students would actually be serving in places and in particular ways that actually meet organizational needs (needs that were carefully researched and affirmed beforehand).

In the social action task that I assign, my students must spend at least three hours in the semester getting to know how the organization or resource that they have selected from the social learning directory actually operates. Also, to ensure that the actual social action proceeds in an ethical fashion (i.e. that students do not simply impose upon an organization or spend three hours that are completely unconnected to actually furthering the goals of the organization), I require that the students must spend part of the time meeting specific action-oriented goals of the organization and the other part of their time interviewing an organization leader or member. As a case study model, two of my students chose to go and serve breakfast to homeless individuals at O'ahu's IHS Women's and Families' Homeless Shelter on a Saturday morning within the first month of my course. Then, the students each conducted an interview with a member of the faculty's staff—the organizational director and lead volunteer facilitator. Through this interview the students asked a set of questions, provided through a specific questionnaire that I have created, regarding the actual workings and needs of the organization, as well as how their writings can actually further these organizational goals and needs. This interview is designed to help students better address and even further the goals and needs of the organization

through their writings throughout the rest of the course. Ultimately, too, this interview portion is constructed to more explicitly connect the actual social action, community-building task with the act of writing. This is a necessary measure as many students can tend to see practice and writing as two very discrete and separate entities.

Students are required to provide their interview notes and a short paper along with documentation (photos, notes, drawings, etc.) after completing their social action project. These pieces of documentation along with the actual experiences gained through the social action project serve as the foundation for each of the formal writing assignments in the course—an exploratory essay and a research essay—and many of the informal ones as well (i.e., short stories, poems, and journal entries). Again, using my own class as a model, the two students who chose to serve in the homeless shelter spent the remainder of the course of the semester writing informal, creative assignments such as a slam poem, a TV commercial script, and numerous journal entries about various aspects and perspectives concerning homelessness. Through these informal writings, the students creatively explored and gave voice to how actual individuals saw and experienced life within the organizational framework of the homeless shelter. These two particular students also wrote more formal exploratory research essays that dealt with an argument concerning homeless shelter funding and governmental intervention in Hawai'i, utilizing the experience and interview data of the social action project as source material and a writing guide. Furthermore, each of these students also wrote a one-page creative piece summarizing their social action project experience, and at the end of the semester these pieces were sent to legislative leaders of O'ahu in order to more fully emphasize the powerful connection between social action and the potential for change and the student's own writing and voice.

Therefore, through the connection that I create between actual community building, social learning, and writing in the composition classroom, my students are moved to see more clearly and explicitly the connections between their writing and actual social change. Through this specific linking of community action and writing in the beginning composition classroom, I build what Dennis Carlson, speaking of the goal of "service learning," highlights as an "education that serves to initiate individuals into the productive work of building culture" (238). That is, writing and practice are inextricably linked—one refines the other and vice versa—and they work together to construct meaning and, ultimately, contribute to building up culture and society.

## 6.0. CONCLUSION

As my teaching experience has developed over the last few years, I have come to see that neither my students nor their writing can develop in a vacuum. The development of writing must take place within a larger cycle of learning that consists of thinking, speaking, and, ultimately, practice. As a student develops human character through critical meaning-making tasks, through classroom interaction, and through actual actions in the community at a large, his or her writing also becomes richer, fuller, more complex and understanding. And, thus, the cycle of learning produces not only greater writing growth, but greater human development as well. Therefore, through an implementation of a practice of community service learning in the beginning composition classroom, we, as educators, can hopefully begin to turn around the trend toward consumerism and individual isolation that Benjamin Barber has observed in the American writing classroom in the last few decades: "Schools that were once workshops of intimacy have been transformed into factories as alienating as welfare hotels and as lonely as suburban malls" (225). Let us move the beginning writing classroom from this place of community consumption to a new place of community creation, in which writing functions to ensure that voices like Mary's, mentioned at the beginning of this essay, are not silenced by an emerging writing culture but are actually heard, embraced, and empowered by it.

## NOTES

1. In the case of Rhoads' classes, these projects were often a week or a semester long and required a careful investment of both time and energy. Projects ranged from fixing up a community center, to collecting data for a non-profit, to writing reports or performing grant research for community organizations.



2. In addition to Cushman's model, a few models of community service learning have been proposed for various writing courses at the intermediate and advanced writing levels. Prominent among these is Jim Henry's work with "greening" the writing classroom, in which a beginning level professional writing course worked closely with the Department of Forestry in Hawai'i (Henry 139-145). However, most of the studies of community service learning and the higher education classroom have been conducted in the sciences (both social and physical).

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# LIGHT AND DARKNESS IN *THE TIME MACHINE*

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## ABSTRACT

This paper considers what "seeing" means in literature by re-reading H.G. Wells' *The Time Machine*. The relationship between Victorian culture and "seeing" is the most vital subject to be considered as the novel's background. Approaching invisibility is one of the most significant themes in all his works, and is developed as the novel's main plot: a scientist's attempt to see an unknown, future world. This dichotomy is revealed in a variety of subjects: the ruler and the ruled, seeing and being seen, appearances and reality, and light and darkness.

An old proverb says, "Seeing is believing." This has been quoted as a homespun proverb and taken for granted as truth, but whether it still fits for complicated modern times is a different consideration. Can everything we see be believed? Or, can we believe something that is invisible to our eyes?

The criticism of Wells' well known science romance *The Time Machine* (1895) is mainly focused on the relationship between Morlocks and Elois, adopting the concept of Marxism or Darwinism to apply evolution philosophy to social issues. For instance, Cantor and Hufnagel with a Victorian concept of empire state that "we can still recognize Disraeli's 'two nations,' the rich and the poor of Victorian England" (36). But, the first comment the time traveller makes in the future world, as a greeting to the future world, "Fine hospitality, . . . to a man who has travelled innumerable years to see you" (22), suggests what his ultimate purpose is; this is a narrative of desire to see the unknown, namely, the future world in this context.

To see the unknown is one of the most significant themes that Wells reiterates in all his works: *The Invisible Man* (1897), "The Crystal Egg" (1897), and "The Door in the Wall" (1906) are the most typical examples. In a similar manner, the desire is a main motivation for the time traveller. In this paper I shall examine how this theme is illustrated through the novel's plot, especially in connection with a main source of optical illusions and visual phenomena, light and darkness.

The outset of the story gives us the time traveller's newly found theory. He gives a lecture to his friends: "There is no difference between Time and any of the three dimensions of Space," but what matters is "only another way of looking at Time" (2). Through his lecture, what is most conspicuously explained is his guests' suspicious response towards it. Even with the traveller's experiment, by which he tries to prove the validity of his theory, before their very eyes, the comments made to him are still caustic and disapproving: they only see a clock-sized model time machine's departure for a different dimension as an "ingenious paradox and trick" (12) or "[s]ome sleight-of-hand trick or other" (6).

This suggests that people in the times of the traveller have, as his guests fully prove this above, become accustomed to a man-made, virtual vision. For instance, one of the optical inventions at that time, the magic lantern, "[a]s an alternative to flesh and blood, enabled people to see the world. Foreign countries became more real, scientific subjects could be demonstrated, the wonders of the world could be shown in all their colourful glory" (Delgado 77). Though it goes without emphasising that to see objects' figures directly is conclusively important for us to acquire and digest information, at the same time, ironically enough, the more we can see, the more sceptical we become about the appearance of things, and about our eyes. This uncertainty towards vision, shown before the time travel narrative begins, gives the reader a foretaste of what he faces in the future world.

The traveller sets off to his destination, the year A.D.802,701, full of expectation. Yet, what he can see never meets it; first of all, the whole process of travelling through time is obscure to his eyes. It is described by a repetition of a few certain words; "hazy," "dim," and "dark" (19). As soon as he sets the machine, the image of his laboratory in sight turns to "dark," then grows "faint and hazy, then fainter and ever fainter" till it ends up merely a "dim suggestion of the laboratory" (19). Following a disappearance of the laboratory, everything that he can hold in his eyes is "misty and vague," or "grey and dim" (20). However, what is worse for him is the fact that his sight remains unclear after his arrival.

His first impression of the future world is all about its poor visibility: "Everything still seemed grey" (21), as "[t]he rebounding, dancing hail hung in a cloud over the machine, and drove along the ground like smoke" (22). Apart from a blurred figure of a building, "all else of the world was invisible" (22). Against his purpose, to see the future, the world's indistinct scenery prevents him from grasping its true figures. The

insecurity, frustration, and hesitation he feels are expressed by the imagery of a “ghost,” in the same manner as one of his friends’ using the word in the earlier lecture scene, “Are you perfectly serious? Or is this a trick-like that ghost you showed us last Christmas?” (10). “Ghost” puzzles its observers with its fuzzy existence. Lacking solidity, they are not tangible but still visible, often with an emotional impact upon their observers. When the traveller notices that there is another type of human being, Morlocks, besides Elois for the first time, he tries to convince himself that he was only under an illusion, assuming that they “must have been ghosts” (48). The grey downpour, which obstructs his view in the aforementioned scene, also vanishes “like the trailing garments of a ghost” (23). Ghosts are a convenient and effective literary symbol, blurring the gulf between reality and illusion, which symbolises “dimness” of the future.

However, another type of optical imagery lies over the future world more thoroughly than its “dimness.” The constitution of the world can be regarded as being clearly divided into two: light and darkness. Let’s look at a couple of the clearest examples: The traveller’s exploration of the future world begins to take a turn for the worse when he finds that the machine has been taken away by someone. Panic strikes him. He only dithers about, unable to do anything, and falls asleep in the depths of despair, until the break of day:

I sat up in the freshness of the morning, trying to remember how I had got there, and why I had such a profound sense of desertion and despair. Then things came clear in my mind. *With the plain, reasonable daylight, I could look my circumstances fairly in the face. I saw the wild folly of my frenzy overnight, and I could reason with myself.* (40; italics added)

The light’s positive effect on him is patently obvious. Despite the fact that there is no practical reason or method to solve the problem, light is effective enough for revitalizing his feeling and motivation. Vice versa, the same logic applies to darkness as well, though its effect upon him is opposite. “The unbroken darkness” has “a distressing effect” on his eyes (57-8). He even confesses that “[t]he enemy I dreaded may surprise you. It was the darkness of the new moon” (62). His reactions demonstrate the light and darkness’ influences, namely, how vital an optic impression is for him. He proudly declares that he comes from the age of “ripe prime of the human race, when Fear does not paralyse and mystery has lost its terrors” (63); nevertheless, such a simple natural phenomenon, light or lack of it, can powerfully affect both his sense and his soul.

In addition, there is another contrary framework that establishes the future world, relevant to light and darkness: Elois and Morlocks. Human beings have evolved, or rather degenerated in the traveller’s eyes, into two different species. They have nothing in common in terms of social role, appearance, behaviour, language, or territory, and the only interchange between them is a literal predator-prey relationship. Following zoological examples, carnivorous Morlocks are described as nocturnal while herbivorous Elois as diurnal. This setting connects to a contrast between day and night, ground and underground, light and darkness. When objects are unseen, they are usually unknown and remain mysterious to their observers, unless there are other alternative ways to examine them, such as effective sight. For the traveller’s eyes, the truth of the future world is always hidden in darkness; Morlocks live underground beyond the reach of sunlight, and they show themselves only in the night. As a consequence, it is rarely easy for the traveller to grasp the whole picture of the future world, clearly showed by his confession: “So watching, I began to put my interpretation upon the things I had seen, and as it shaped itself to me that evening, . . . (Afterwards I found I had got only a half-truth—or only a glimpse of one facet of the truth)” (32-33).

Put another way, the traveller’s sight is constantly disabled or limited through travel. The man of curiosity and enthusiasm cannot actually see anything. Yet despite this circumstance, it would be inaccurate to think that the traveller is completely helpless and does not know what to do; by using his own knowledge, and, more usefully in a practical way, by matches, he tries to extend his sight.

A match, this relatively new invention in his time,<sup>1</sup> plays a significant role in the story, from attracting Elois’ attention at the smallest to protecting his life from Morlocks’ attacks at the largest. His repetition of the phrase, “the protection of [the match’s] glare” (60, 78), expresses how helpful and encouraging it is in the circumstances he is in. Interestingly, in later years Wells returns to the match metaphor in his essay, “The Rediscovery of the Unique” (1891).

Science is a match that man has just got alight. He thought he was in a room—in moments of devotion, a temple—and that his light would be reflected from and display walls inscribed with wonderful secrets and pillars carved with philosophical systems wrought into harmony. It

is a curious sensation, now that the preliminary splutter is over and the flame burns up clear, to see his hands lit and just a glimpse of himself and the patch he stands on visible, and around him, in place of all that human comfort and beauty he anticipated—darkness still. (22)

It seems strange that he uses a match in particular for the symbol and medium of the light, not a candle or torch, both of which are much stronger and last far longer than matches. Why should it necessarily be a match? Wells' choice of a match reveals how he sees science and vision: His notions overlap each other in terms of reliability. Wells does not place complete reliance in our ability of seeing, or even in seeing itself, or in modern technology; their merits and demerits rather offset each other. This explains why almost all of the scientific geniuses in his short stories are described as stereotyped, so-called mad scientist.<sup>2</sup> If "seeing" is as untrustworthy as the light of a match, there is always a threat that what we can see in this moment might be unseen in the next moment. Or, we can, at least, safely say that it is limited; as the traveller says, "The view I had of it was as much as one could see in the burning of a match," when he strikes a match in the underground, which "stretched into utter darkness beyond the range of my light" (58).

Margaret Oliphant, a Victorian ghost story writer who also emphasises the theme of "seen and unseen," believes that science is "the enemy of the imagination as well as of religion" (Calder xi). It might be sometimes true that scientific account and analysis could be accurate and logical enough to hamper the imagination. But, in *The Time Machine*, Wells demonstrates that scientific motifs can ignite one's imagination. Employing a theme of dystopia for *The Time Machine*, Wells apparently does not have a positive vision of human beings' evolution—our future. His way of describing Elois and Morlocks represents that human characteristics, such as love, trust, faith, courage, and of course, despair, suspicion, anxiety, and fear, are unstable and elusive, as they are insubstantial and invisible. However, he still does not give up all hope. Human beings and all that we have built up—everything might degenerate after reaching its climax, but he casts some philanthropic, or, rather almost sentimental light to the ending: The traveller says, "I have by me, for my comfort, two strange white flowers—shrivelled now, and brown and flat and brittle—to witness that even when mind and strength had gone, gratitude and a mutual tenderness still lived on in the heart of man" (102-103). Even if what we can see at the moment is just an illusion, or something lit by a tiny match for only a brief moment, it can still mean something for us in the darkness, as well as those withered, trivial flowers.

## NOTES

1. Following a discovery of phosphorous in 1669, the form of a modern match was invented in 1680. A first popular match, Lucifers was produced in England, first sold in 1827. For more details, see Heavisides.
2. To begin with famous Dr. Moreau in *The Island of Doctor Moreau* (1896), there are Griffin in *The Invisible Man* (1897), Mr. Elvisham in "The Story of the Late Mr. Elvisham" (1896), Professor Gibberne in "The New Accelerator" (1901) and so on.

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## THE POST-POSTMODERN? A MILLENNIAL SENSIBILITY IN ETHNIC AMERICAN FICTIONS

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Since the formation of "ethnic" studies in the late 1960s, there has been a tremendous focus on a body of literature known as Contemporary American Ethnic Literature. Much of this focus has corresponded with the postmodern era in which one of the central distinguishing features is what Jean-Francois Lyotard calls the "incredulity towards metanarratives," where "legitimizing 'master narratives' are in crisis and decline" (Butler 13). In fact, the link between Ethnic Literature and Postmodernism runs quite deep. The skepticism of master narratives correlates with Foucault's point that, "power and knowledge fundamentally interact. . . . Sexists, racists, and imperialists all use similar techniques—they make *their* 'normalizing' discourse prevail, and, in doing so, they actually create or bring into being the deviant or what many postmodernists call *the other*" (Butler 46; emphasis original). As Christopher Butler argues, postmodernists "successfully adapt [these] Foucauldian arguments to show the ways in which discourses of power are used in all societies to *marginalize subordinated groups*" (56; emphasis original). Thus, "postmodernist thought, in attacking the idea of a notional centre or dominant ideology, facilitated the promotion of a politics of difference" (Butler 57). And, in this sense, "postmodernist thought has inspired much work on the nature of the 'postcolonial subject'" (Butler 47). If we rely here on the internal colonial model, which sees ethno-racial minorities in the US as colonized subjects in similar conditions to those of traditional colonies, we can begin to see how Contemporary Ethnic Literature in the U.S. has been read through the lens of postcoloniality and, thus, a strain of postmodernism. The remainder of this paper focuses on Asian American literatures in particular to demonstrate the movement from modernism to postmodernism and into the post-postmodern, what I am calling Millennial Ethnic Literature.

One of the major features of the postcolonial subject in relation to postmodernism has to do with the fragmentation of the subject. As Frederic Jameson notes in "Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," the shift from modernism to postmodernism entails a "shift in the dynamics of cultural pathology" where "concepts such as anxiety and alienation"—concepts associated with Modernism—"are no longer appropriate in the world of the postmodern" (63). For Jameson, in the postmodern, "the alienation of the subject is displaced by the fragmentation of the subject" (63). In Jameson's explanation, "The end of the bourgeois ego or monad [the modernist centered subject] brings with it the end of the psychopathologies of that as well" what he has called "the waning of affect," so that "the liberation, in contemporary society, from the older *anomie* of the centered subject may also mean, not merely a liberation from anxiety, but a liberation from every other kind of feeling as well, since there is no longer a self present to do the feeling" (64; emphasis original). Jameson goes on to suggest that perhaps not all affect is missing in the postmodern; but for my purposes, Jameson's statements suggest that the fragmented, postmodern subject is not negatively determined in *the same way* as the modernist, centered subject, and that, ultimately, there is an intimation of a celebratory, positivism in the fragmentariness of postmodernism.

In relation to Asian American literatures, then, we might argue that assimilationist type narratives translate into the modernist condition of a centered subject experiencing feelings of anxiety, loss, and alienation. These immigrant or first-generation characters are usually disillusioned by a confrontation with the new adopted country and its culture, which does not seem to accept or welcome this immigrant, or "othered," body into its corpus. Often these quasi-bildungsromans show the immigrant coming to the adopted country, feeling alienated, and somehow attempting, but not always able, to grow-up and assimilate into America.

One example of this assimilationist and modernist sensibility can be found in Carlos Bulosan's, typical immigration story, *America is in the Heart*. The narrator spends the first half of the book recounting his experiences within his war-torn and impoverished homeland. Eventually, the narrator comes to learn about the "American Dream" through a story about Abraham Lincoln and internalizes the archetypal Horatio Alger tale and begins his pursuit of this America. After arriving in the United States, the narrator moves through his story consistently experiencing alienation—in the forms of poverty, racism, labor exploitation, etc. The protagonist exemplifies a modernist sensibility of alienation as he continues to run up against "other enemies" and realizes that "in many ways it was a crime to be Filipino in California" (121). Because of his ethnicity and race, he is barred from attaining the dream he once sought in becoming a part of the American corpus. As the protagonist seems to endlessly suffer, the modernist sensibility becomes most evident as he claims at one point to have

"died many deaths in these surroundings" (135). But, even after these experiences, he continues to believe in America, as a safe harbor and refuge, which eventually leads him to proclaim, in typical assimilationist fashion, that: "All of us, from the first Adams to the last Filipino, native born or alien, educated or illiterate—*We are America!*" (189; emphasis original). Thus, Bulosan's protagonist represents the traditional immigrant, assimilationist, and modernist sensibility—he comes to America, continuously feels alienated and disillusioned by reality, but eventually asserts a "melting pot" version of what America supposedly is.

As Asian Americans began to become empowered through the Asian American Movements, ethnic studies, and other civil rights awakenings, some of the writers began to reject assimilation. As Jameson suggests, the movement from modernism to postmodernism is not a clean break, rather some elements of modernism influence and transform within postmodernism while others may remain intact. With this in mind, the feelings of alienation may linger within the narratives of the postcolonial postmodernism of Asian American writers, but the end resolution is no longer a desire for full assimilation.

With the postmodern sensibility comes an assertion of, acceptance of, and sometimes pride in one's sense of ethno-racial difference. Postmodernism makes possible "a politics of differences," as Butler notes. So that, Butler continues, "under postmodern conditions, the ordered class politics preferred by socialists has given way to a far more diffuse and pluralistic *identity politics*, which often involves the self-conscious assertion of a marginalized identity against the dominant discourse" (57; emphasis original). For Asian America this "self-conscious assertion" was of a specific, pan-ethnic Asian American identity—or a more particularized ethnic American (e.g., Japanese American) identity—that was placed "against the dominant discourse[s]" (57) of both modernism and assimilationism. Within this assertion then, as Jameson suggests, "the alienation of the subject is displaced by the fragmentation of the subject" (63). One is no longer a Chinese struggling to become American; he is now a Chinese American negotiating between and celebrating the difference of a fragmented identity that embraces multiple cultures.

One example of the postmodernist sensibility can be located in Maxine Hong Kingston's *Tripmaster Monkey*. The protagonist, Wittman Ah Sing, struggles with identity formation. At first, Wittman is thoroughly enmeshed within the white, dominant society of Berkeley and "consider[s] suicide everyday" (3). Within this world, Wittman is constantly made to believe that he is not "authentically" Chinese, that he cannot easily "come back to Chinatown" after experiencing college and adopting some "American" ways (10-11). But, eventually Wittman returns to a playhouse in Chinatown where he wants to put on a "hybrid" play, a "Chinese-American" play (255). This play is symbolic of his own fragmented self—one that is negotiating the Chinese and American—someone who wants to "look at the hyphen" (293). Hyphen or not—there is a conscious self-assertion of a particularized ethno-racial identity that affirms itself against the dominant, white American culture because full assimilation is no longer the goal.

As postmodern works have asserted their individual, particularized, fragmented identities against the dominant white American identity and culture, a form of separatism has fixed itself on the scene of ethnic American literature. Because of its reaction against assimilationism, the postmodern sensibility has produced and maintained, what Butler calls, an "irreducible pluralism." Butler states "although much postmodernist thinking and writing and visual art can be seen as attacking stereotypical categories, defending difference, and so on, it left all these separate groupings to demand recognition as 'authentic' but isolated communities, once they were freed, in and by theory, from the dominant categories of the majority" (59). And, therefore, an irreducible pluralism, or "radical separatism" results (57), which is "cut off from any unifying frameworks of belief that might lead to common political action" (59). The "unifying frameworks" of "common political action" that Butler suggests are in reference to cross-ethnic, and more importantly cross-racial, commonalities. And, these do indeed often disappear from these postmodern, postcolonial, ethnic American literatures as the writers attempt to assert an Asian or African or Native-American particularity.

More recently, however, since the end of the 1990s and into the new millennium, there seems to be another shift occurring with regards to the subject of Asian American and other ethnic literatures. Many of these works are being considered as postmodernist or postcolonial texts because there still seems to be a preoccupation with fragmentation. What I suggest is that while the fragmentation does still exist within these works, and, in fact, in many ways depends upon it and other postmodern notions, the end conclusion is not merely a celebration in fragmentation that remains deeply tied to identity politics and the politics of difference,

and asserts a self-conscious identity of difference against the dominant majority. Rather, the millennial subject desires a re-centering of the subject (perhaps though not a personal subjecthood) that transcends these individualistic goals in order to find commonalities between communities—ethnic, racial, national, cultural, and historical.

Taking the term *millennial* from the demographic usage, in which it refers to the generation born from approximately 1982-2000, I will build a definition of *millennial sensibility*. In the generational timeline Millennials come after Generation X, which comes after The Boomers. And according to generational theories, each generation defines itself against and with the previous generations. It also defines itself through the conditions in which the generation was brought up. In summation, Howe and Strauss (two generational theorists) argue that the Millennials are defined against the individualism, socials-splintering, and over-the-top free agency of Generation X, as well as, the perceived narcissism, iconoclasm, and constant focus on talk (usually argument) over action of The Boomers (66). But, Millennials are also defined through the culture in which they were raised—one that involves a high level of “cutting-edge communication and computing technologies” (Winograd 2), “a time of fragmentation” where “multiculturalism has entirely displaced assimilation” (Howe and Strauss 105), a time with an “overtly visible, growing gap between the wealthy and the poor” (Howe and Strauss 106). Ultimately, some of the major characteristics that are being associated with the Millennial generation are: “a strong group and community orientation and a clear tendency to share their thoughts and activities with others” (Winograd 83); an “empathy for others in their group and to seek to understand each person’s perspective” (Winograd 5); that they are “‘the least prejudiced about race’ and ‘the most dissatisfied with race relations’” (Howe and Strauss 218); that they consider themselves to be global (Howe and Strauss 219); and that they are generally optimistic about the future (Howe and Strauss 44).

Based on these demographic traits, I attempt to extrapolate a set of clear definitions for the millennial sensibility. Due to the generation’s tendency to consider itself global, its dissatisfaction with the current “sense of separatism” with regards to racial groups (Howe and Strauss 219), its unhappiness with race relations, its own sense of diversity, I argue that one of the major features of the millennial sensibility is ethno-racial bridging. This is opposed to the postmodern sensibility of a self-asserted, dissentient identity and a politics of difference. A second key feature of the millennial sensibility is community building in relation to the first feature. In opposition to a postmodernist sense of individualism, fragmentation, or a community of difference (e.g., radical separatism), the millennial community-orientation seeks to form community outside of ethno-racial commonalities. Perhaps, one might argue that this community-orientation is more closely related to an idealistic and transcendent humanism. Another key feature of the millennial sensibility is optimism for the future in terms of the community. This is not the same as the celebration of fragmentation found in a postmodern sensibility or the optimistic endings of postmodernist novels, where the character in his/her self-assertion of difference goes off into the future of America with hope. This millennial sense of optimism is more closely linked to a global or communal sense of future.

One example of this millennial sensibility is Karen Tei Yamashita’s latest work, *I Hotel*, which was recently on the short list of the National Book Award for 2010. Many of the reviews of the book have focused their comments through the lens of a postmodernist sensibility and its postmodern technique—the text’s “wild narrative architecture” (Valdes), and its “inventive forms” (Hua), its critique of the “master narrative” through its “decade of research” (Valdes), and “compelling history” (Hua); and its particularity of an Asian American culture—“its recognition of the untidy, ironic, and passionate individual and collective histories that together describe the ‘Asian American movement’” (Chuh), and its “attempt” to capture the “successes and failures of an entire generation of Asian-Americans living in San Francisco in the 1970s” (“*I Hotel*” by Karen Tei Yamashita). While these reviews do pick out certain commendable aspects of the text, they also miss one of the key issues working at the heart of *I Hotel*. In an interview, Yamashita states, “I was interested in all the crossings—the intersections of people who did not know what others were doing. There was so much factionalism at the time—people weren’t really talking to each other” (Chuh). It is this sense of bridging, of making connections and intersections, which I believe is the key to understanding how this book moves beyond the postmodern and into the millennial sensibility.

One specific example of the millennial sensibility at work in Yamashita’s six hundred page book is in a chapter, entitled “3: Analects.” To begin, Yamashita strays away from the classic bildungsroman so often employed within ethnic fictions as a means to create either an assimilationist (modernist) or particularized

(post-modernist) American identity. Rather than concentrate on only one character's bildungsroman, Yamashita focuses on a plurality of characters. Paul, a Chinese American student at San Francisco State, who has to "use a dictionary to decipher" Chinese and represents the privileged class position (his father was an intellectual, publisher, and businessman), is placed in opposition to Edmund, a first generation Chinese immigrant student, who "reads everything in the original Chinese" and is representative of the underprivileged—the "illiterate Chinese who work fourteen hours a day" (15). In the chapter, Paul has become a poet, while Edmund "investigated and wrote articles" (42), "wrote a manifesto...and called for a new organization: Chinese for Affirmative Action" (44). By moving away from a more formal bildungsroman, Yamashita is able to concentrate on bridging the gaps between these two characters, which each represent multiple divergent communities.

Yamashita continues her millennial sensibility when the divide between her two Asian American characters is aligned with the African American community. Paul (a poet/artist) and Edmund (a revolutionary) come to a head, as the leader of the poetry club accuses the revolutionary Red Guards of being a "minstrel show" that parrots the Black Panthers. Yamashita parallels the division between the Asian Americans—Paul and Edmund—with the historical tension between two prominent African American figures—James Baldwin (the artist/writer) and Eldridge Cleaver (the revolutionary). By creating the parallel between the Asian American characters—Paul and Edmund—and the historical, African American figures—Baldwin and Cleaver—Yamashita makes multiple implications. On the one hand, as the narrator states, "But how, insisted Baldwin, were he and Cleaver so different, created out of their different but equally oppressive encounters with white society?" (47), Yamashita disrupts the traditional history that positions Cleaver (the revolutionary) and Baldwin (the artist) in opposition and privileges a remembrance of the action of revolution over the action of art. On the other hand, Yamashita disrupts the division between the reader and the characters as she asks: "Who are the true heroes? The poets or the revolutionaries?/ 18.2 Who are the real men? The poets or the revolutionaries?/ 18.3 The answer to these questions are on page \_\_\_\_." (49). Yamashita's direct appeal to the reader not only "interrogates the construction of history" (Moiles 169), but breaks down a historical divide between the figures and the reader, as the reader is asked to draw the connections between these two figures and their respective communities and principles. Ultimately, distinguishing "the *true* heroes" or "*real* men" is a fruitless task, one with no *real* answers. In this way, Yamashita pushes her readers out of a postmodern sensibility stuck on individualism, fragmentation, division, and difference towards a sensibility that is more community-oriented and interested in the intersections. Lastly, Yamashita suggests a desire for ethno-racial connection. Rather than having the Asian Americans firmly fixed within Asian American history and culture, Yamashita clearly indicates the ways in which the Asian American community and African American community had/still have similar goals and objectives—ones that might be centered on a broader humanist perspective, rather than on the creation and maintenance of a particularized ethno-racial group—the postmodern sensibility of ethno-racial separatism, or the irreducible pluralism, itself becomes a fiction. Through the construction of her chapter, Yamashita actually works within the millennial sensibility to demonstrate multiple connections—ethno-racial, past/present, art/revolution, privileged/underprivileged, reader/character.

By focusing on Asian American literatures, this paper has attempted to develop a shifting arc from modernism/assimilation to postmodernism/pluralism to millennial/coalitional, global, and communal. I hope that this paper has traced the ways in which ethnic literatures can be seen within a certain trajectory, where a work is never completely detached from its predecessors, but which also shows the continual building upon and shifting of those modes. Relying on a demographic conception and using Karen Tei Yamashita's latest work, I have attempted to articulate this new mode, the millennial sensibility, that is, at its core, a sensibility interested in connection between multiple divergent communities. As we become firmly situated within the new millennium, I believe it is important to reconsider the ways in which we speak about the literary productions of this time. It is no longer feasible to consider any sort of literary formal experimentation or critique of the dominant narrative as merely "postcolonial" or "postmodern" or Asian American, "whatever that might mean" (Chuh). A new generation of writers is emerging, and it has different goals and contexts that influence its writings. This paper has been an attempt to allow for the consideration of this coming change.



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# THE ROLE OF MOTIVATION IN PERFORMING AS A WRITER IN LIMINAL SPACES

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## ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the role motivation plays in aiding first year composition students' transition to college level writing. Having a mentor as a resource helps students negotiate this liminal space between high school and college writing by providing assistance which adapts to individualized student needs. Through analysis of my mentor logs, conversations with mentees, and questionnaire results, I will show how interacting with the mentor allows the student to become empowered as a writer who feels he or she can accomplish academic and personal goals. These results demonstrate the value of having mentors as a part of the writing process.

## 1.0. INTRODUCTION

Extrinsic and intrinsic motivational factors play a significant role in how first year composition students perform academically and why they decide to utilize the mentor as a resource to aid their writing performance. Mentors are graduate students in the English department who work individually with students to help them with any part of the writing process the student wishes to address. The mentor holds private conferences with students outside of the classroom and individually addresses issues relating to class material, assignments, other courses, or adjustment to college life. Most of the mentees are freshmen, thus they are going through several transitions at once. First year composition students occupy the liminal space between high school and college writing, adolescence and adulthood, and self and academia; traversing these boundaries and assuming the role of a serious college level writer is aided significantly by the guidance and encouragement of a mentor. A student's transition to this role is greatly affected by the factors which motivate the student to perform in the college context. By understanding the variance of motivators that drive student performance, mentors and professors can work with individual students to help them achieve goals within and beyond the classroom, and empower students to take responsibility for their education by recognizing what they desire educationally and how to achieve it.

McLeod (1987) defines motivation as "one's inner impulses or drives toward some goal," (p. 428) and motivation can be conceptualized and classified in several ways. For this study I am working with McLeod's definition of extrinsic motivation and Harackiewicz, Barron, and Elliot's (1998) concept of intrinsic motivation. McLeod determines extrinsic motivation to be motivators such as "pleasing or pacifying teachers, getting good grades, or reaching an eventual career goal," which "certainly come to bear on the writing process," yet she also notes Nicholls's theory that extrinsic motivational factors "are less effective than internal motivating factors in terms of student learning" (p. 429). While extrinsic or external motivators play a significant role in educational success, internal motivators are just as (if not more) important. Harackiewicz et al. note that intrinsic motivational factors manifest in such ways as "active involvement in the course, enjoyment of the lectures, classes, and readings, and an intrinsic interest in the course material. Intrinsically motivated students love learning and their questions to instructors are more likely to concern the material itself rather than what will be covered on an exam" (p. 4). For first year composition students, tapping into the intrinsic motivators for the course can be a challenge, especially due to the fact that the course is mandatory, not chosen. Instructors can help motivate students by incorporating the six factors identified by Lam, Pak and Ma (as cited in Lam and Law, 2007, p. 146): "Challenge, real-life significance, curiosity, autonomy, recognition, and evaluation. Those components constitute instructional practices that are motivating to learning in general." While incorporating these elements is a significant step, determining student motivators on a personal basis (such as through individual conferences) helps the student recognize what motivators are functioning in his or her particular situation. A personalized approach to student learning can yield fruitful results, as "students' confidence in their writing capabilities influence their writing motivation as well as various writing outcomes in school" (Pajares, 2003, p. 141). One-on-one interactions between student and instructor can help the student succeed by developing his or her confidence in the course.

Extrapolating on this concept, the student-mentor relationship is another element that can build student confidence, as the mentor provides both instructional and emotional support; thus by helping the student build

confidence, the mentor is contributing to the student's academic success not just in composition, but in other courses as well. Building a supportive relationship, especially for students who are far from familial support, has strong potential to correlate with positive student confidence, which as Pajares (2003) notes, has an effect on learning: "Students with positive expectations that result from a strong sense of confidence approach tasks with optimism and continue to strive in the face of difficulty; those with low confidence and few expectations for success are more likely to withdraw their effort and give up on their goals" (p. 152). The mentor has the opportunity to assist students in conceptualizing themselves in a positive way, helping them bridge the divide between high school and college performance.

## 2.0. RESEARCH METHOD

For this study, I collected data from the instructor to determine the grade performance of the students for each of the three assignments for the first fourteen weeks of the semester, and compared this to my records of the number of mentor meetings each student has attended. I then noted whether the student attended a meeting prior to turning in each assignment, and how this information correlates with the grade received. Additionally, I conducted a survey which asked seven open ended questions about which factors do or could motivate students to perform academically, as a writer, and to attend meetings with the mentor. I administered the survey in person to two students, and they provided me with both written and verbal answers. The remainder of the students who responded to the questions (five, to create a total of seven completed surveys) were given the questionnaire via email, and responded by email. This data is supplemented by my written records from individual mentor meetings when appropriate.

As a caveat to accompany this data, I would like to mention that there are a few essay grades missing from my data (these essays were either not turned in to the instructor or not yet graded), and that the average grades I have compiled reflect the assignments for the first fourteen weeks only, not the final grades of the students. In addition, one meeting per student reflected on Figure 1 refers to an intake interview, during which class assignments aren't generally discussed (or at least are not explored in detail). Also, the length and quality of individual mentor meetings varies depending on student preparation, participation, and the point in the essay writing process during which the meeting is conducted. I lastly want to note that the grades mentioned don't necessarily reflect the extent of student abilities, and that the student's skill coming into the class has a strong influence on his or her performance.

## 3.0. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Figure 1 shows a variety of extrinsic motivational factors taken from the total number of students participating in the survey (seven participants). Of the most popular extrinsic motivating factors across all seven students, the top factor driving students to come to mentor meetings is getting good advice, help, or criticism for their essays. This is a vital function of the student-mentor interaction which contributes to many of the other extrinsic factors, including achieving good grades, getting scholarships, improving chances of post-grad employment, and effectively using tuition money. Other extrinsic factors are related to "personal motivational goals associated with perception of self, what Nicholls refers to as "ego-involvement" (McLeod, 1987, p. 429); Nicholls (1984) determines that "*ego involvement* is applied to states where individuals seek to demonstrate ability in the differentiated sense [emphasis original]" (p. 329). The motivators classified as relating to ego-involvement include demonstrating intelligence to professors, friends and family, being able to tutor others, and receiving positive feedback from professors. A particular example of how extrinsic and intrinsic motivators interact is a student who noted that he is motivated to succeed because "when I succeed people ask me for help [and] I like to be able to help my friends to do as well as I do." While being able to tutor other students definitely has a strong element of ego-involvement (the desire to be perceived as intelligent by others), the objective of helping others succeed has an intrinsic component to it, as the student is achieving a feeling of accomplishment by contributing to another person's success. This example shows that some motivators can be both intrinsic and extrinsic, complicating how motivators are conceptualized.

In the list of intrinsic motivating factors (several are listed in Figure 2), the most popular motivator is the desire for students to express themselves well, something which is driven by ego-involvement and emotional factors. The emotional element of intrinsic motivators is significant, as McLeod (1987) recognizes that "writing is an emotional as well as a cognitive activity – we feel as well as think when we write" (p. 426).

Brand (1987) reveals that "understanding the collaboration of emotion and cognition in writing is both fundamental and far-reaching. It is in cognition that ideas make sense. But it is in emotion that this sense finds value" (p. 442). This establishes the significance of the interplay between emotion and cognition, as both elements are vital to student success, and should be considered by the mentor when interacting with students. Motivational factors such as achieving a feeling of success, performing well at a passion, and inspiring others through good writing are all grounded in emotion; knowing that these elements are motivating students helps the mentor build relationships with students to provide support for the many parts of the writing process. The emotional and cognitive parts of writing interact in the particular case of a student who is a high performer (receiving all As) but identifies writing as a "weak spot" for her. This example shows that academic achievement (what might generally be understood as an extrinsic factor, relating to grades) is not always how a student conceptualizes success, and that the emotionally driven intrinsic desire to "become a writer" is a significant element to consider. I hypothesize that in this case, the student conceptualizes herself as a struggling writer due to the fact that she performs highly in the sciences; performing well in both disciplines (English and science) simultaneously is generally believed to be unattainable. For this student, the emotional support from the mentor can help her conceptualize herself as a strong writer by dispelling the misconception about her ability. It is evident that in this case, the student places high value on the intrinsic understanding of herself as a writer, and conceptualizing herself in such a way is considered success in her eyes.

One of the most intriguing parts of the results is that advanced students (those averaging an A- to an A) seem to be utilizing mentor meetings much more frequently than other students, indicating that a multitude of factors (not simply extrinsic factors such as attaining high grades and getting extra credit) are motivating these students to perform in this class. Popular motivators for advanced students are listed in Figure 3, yet this list is not extensive. One advanced student specifically noted the multiple factors contributing to the desire to attend meetings with the mentor: "The extra credit meetings motivate me because I think it helps with my grade in English—but the extra credit isn't the only reason why I go to mentor meetings. I really benefit from my mentor's feedback and suggestions to my essays. It's always good to have an extra set of eyes to review my paper." This quote identifies the interplay between motivators, and how success is understood by the student as a multifaceted concept, manifesting in both tangible and abstract ways. The motivators which encourage advanced students to meet with the mentor include getting direct help with assignments, attaining writing skills, validating student academic performance, and helping the student grow as a writer and a scholar. The factors which motivate advanced students to attend mentor meetings demonstrate that intrinsic and extrinsic motivation are at work in this context, as academic improvement is measured by both grades and how students individually determine their own success.

I found there to be notable differences between what motivates males and females to perform academically. It is evident that a variety of extrinsic factors (such as improving chance of employment, making friends and family proud, and graduating on time) and intrinsic elements (including improving own abilities, achieving emotional satisfaction, and gaining support from the mentor) play a role in driving the female students to succeed. A variety of motivators (yet not the complete list) are present in Figure 4, and can be compared to Figure 5 (male motivators) to determine the gendered differences in this study on motivation. It is notable that these driving forces for females have both short term and long term consequences, as some relate specifically to the course or the extent of the student's undergraduate career (performing well in the class, completing assignments, using tuition wisely and graduating on time), while others have potentially lifelong effects (such as career success, learning how to attain personal goals, finding one's own voice, and recognizing the connection between achievement and emotional perception of self worth).

In comparison to the females, males seem to be motivated largely by extrinsic motivational factors, rather than intrinsic ones. Figure 5 lists all of the motivators males listed, as received from the two males who participated in the survey. These two students listed completely different motivators from each other, thus the graph shows that only one male stated each motivator as applying to himself. It is apparent that extrinsic factors play a larger role in driving academic performance in males (extrinsic factors are marked in light gray, while the intrinsic factors are marked by dark gray). From the complete list of the motivators males listed, there is an approximate 2:1 ratio of extrinsic to intrinsic motivators (eleven extrinsic to five intrinsic). The factors driving male academic performance are largely attaining future success (relating to finances, in terms of either employment or scholarships), being received well by others (including the ability to tutor, inspire others, and attain good grades), and improving the self (such as learning in general, better articulation, writing skills, and

fulfilling a passion). It is important to note that while these differences between motivators for males and females arose in my data, much more research needs to be done to establish a wider range of motivators and to determine whether the differences I found can be extrapolated to larger populations of students. My study of seven students (of whom only two were male) is only a very small part of the larger project. I again want to emphasize that the written data was received from a total of only seven students (approximately one third of the class), thus the list of motivational factors is not extensive. In addition, it is likely that those who value the role of the mentor answered the questionnaire with more detail than those who do not. Further research is necessary to see a broader scope of which extrinsic and intrinsic factors motivate students to perform in an academic setting.

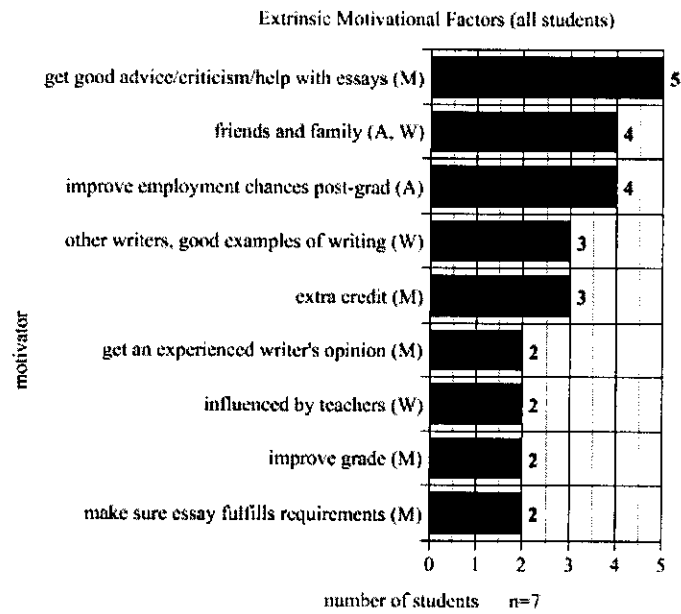
#### 4.0. CONCLUSION

A larger implication of this study is that knowing the details of motivation helps students, mentors, instructors, and professors work together to create a learning environment which furnishes both extrinsic and intrinsic goals. Students are not only learning vital skills to help them succeed in the course, they are also building relationships with representatives of the institution and learning how to relate to people in academia in a less intimidating setting (meeting with a mentor compared to a meeting with a professor). These skills hopefully aid the student in establishing future professional relationships with professors, in addition to making the student feel as though he or she is contributing to academia. One of my mentees mentioned the value of the student-mentor relationship: "I know that I have improved not only because of the class but also the extra help and support I get from the class mentor." This student recognizes the formal instruction of the composition class is complemented by both the educational information the mentor provides and by the emotional "support" the mentor gives the student. It is evident from this information that the relationship between the student and mentor plays a role in student success, as the mentor is a support system built into the composition class that allows the student to feel good about his or her academic performance, and to improve in the class academically and emotionally by interacting with the mentor. The value of interpersonal relationships to the learning process is noted by Lam and Law (2007), as they have found that: "Students will internalize the value of learning activities if they have good relationships with their teachers. In recent years, many researchers have found a strong association between interpersonal relationships and learning motivation," (p. 159) thus interactions between student and mentor or professor can help the student conceptualize learning in a positive context, while also helping the student gain and retain the necessary motivation to succeed as a writer.

While the student is able to achieve his or her goals through these interactions, the mentor also gains valuable knowledge about how to adapt to different mentor environments, treating each student as an individual to maximize student success. Ideally, the mentor gains a deeper recognition of which factors are motivating student performance, and can continue to foster student success by incorporating this knowledge into his or her interactions with the student. These motivators can also be taken into consideration in the production of future syllabi, as many mentors become instructors and professors after mentoring. Lam and Law (2007) understand motivation as "a mediator between instructional practices and writing performance. In other words, motivating instructional practices increase students' motivation, which, in turn, enhances their writing performance" (p. 150). This demonstrates that motivation is a significant element in the learning process, and if considered when creating assignments, can improve student performance in the class and the way that students conceptualize their own educational success (as affected by intrinsic and extrinsic motivators).

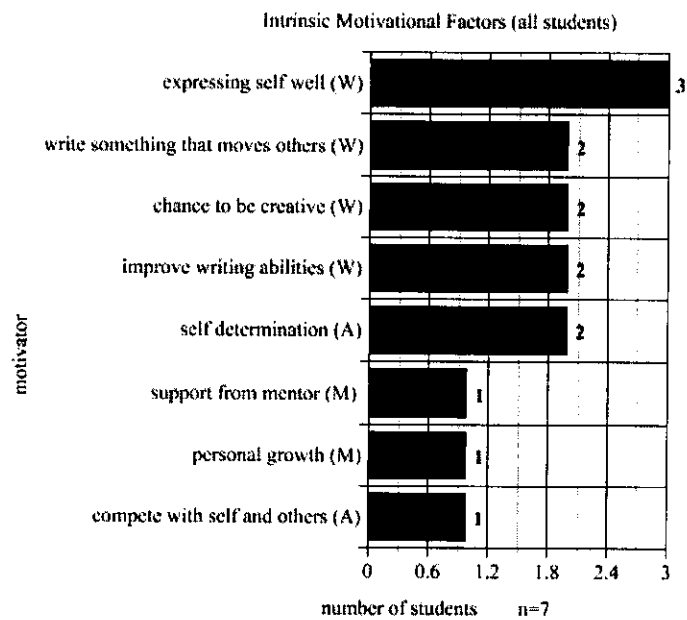
This study is a sample of what kind of research can be done in the future to identify both extrinsic and intrinsic motivational factors for students, and how these can be incorporated by professors and mentors to tailor the educational experience to individual student needs. Perhaps the student can become empowered by identifying the elements which motivate him or her to perform academically, and the act of verbalizing these factors can be incorporated into larger goals. Having students articulate the way they conceptualize and value their education places the onus on students to act in specific ways in order to accomplish their goals and to understand the meta processes that are contributing to their educational experience. Having this kind of understanding can drive students to utilize the resources available to them, interact with authority figures to get the most out of the educational experience, and to approach their own learning as means to both a tangible end (gaining a degree and succeeding career-wise) and a symbolic end (fulfilling personal goals, improving academic abilities, and achieving emotional satisfaction from learning).

## APPENDIX



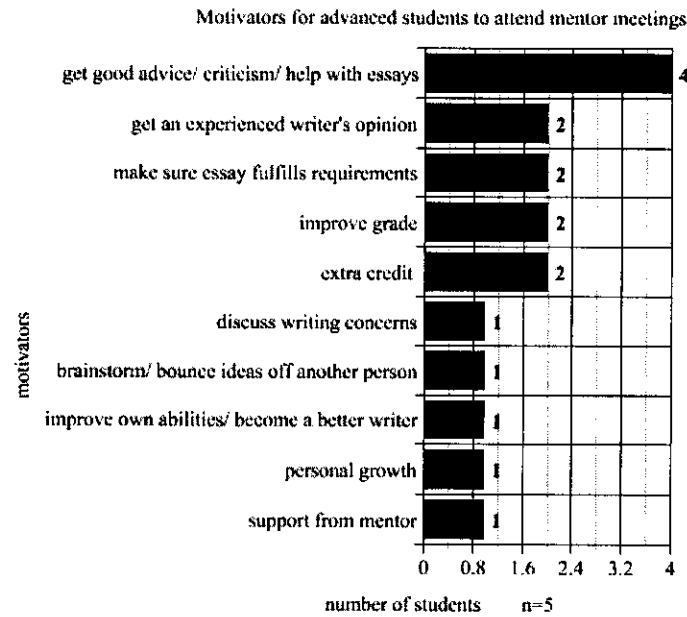
code: A (Academic), W (as a writer), M (to meet with mentor)

Figure 1: Extrinsic Motivational Factors for all students



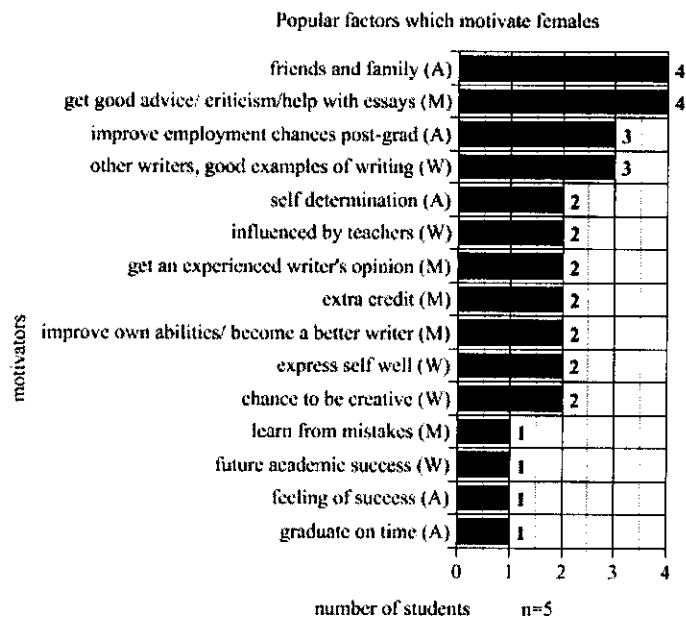
code: A (academic), W (as a writer), M (to meet with mentor)

Figure 2: Intrinsic Motivational Factors for all students



note: advanced is classified as a student with an A- or A average

Figure 3: Motivators for Advanced Students to attend Mentor Meetings



code: A (academic), W (as a writer), M (to attend mentor meetings)

Figure 4: Most Popular Motivators for Females

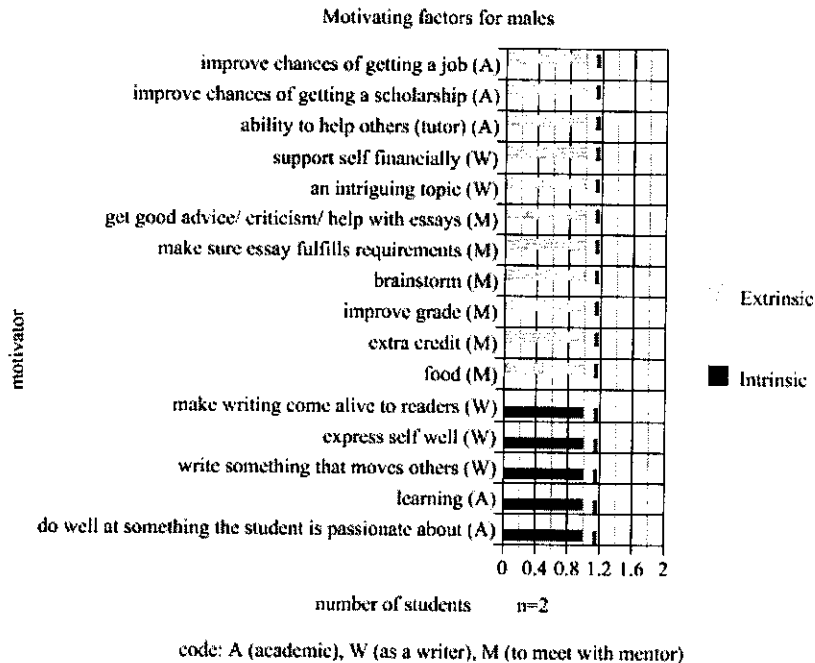


Figure 5: Motivators for Men

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